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Maximo P. Fabella

Book Reviews

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TIBURCIO HILARIO OF PAMPANGA

By Rafaelita H. Soriano

The young man in a colored suit alighted at the railroad station in San Fernando, Pampanga, and inquired for the house of the Hilario brothers. A "carromatero," who often waited there for chance passengers, eagerly came forward and offered to bring him to the ancestral gate.

"You will be there in no time at all," the driver promised, prodding the horse with the butt of a riding whip. Dust rose from the hot streets as the calesa rumbled past quiet, peaceful homes.

Seated in the rig, the stranger reviewed within himself the events that had brought him to Pampanga.

There was the infamous petition of 1888 addressed to the Queen Regent of Spain which was ascribed to him in spite of his absence from Manila. The Calamba episode was, likewise, a glaring case of Spanish injustice.[1] General Weyler, without being requested by the courts, sent troops to Calamba and executed the judicial decree with undue rigor. At the point of a gun the tenants were expelled from the Dominican estate and some of their houses were pulled down and burned. His aged father and three sisters suffered imprisonment and exile.[2] The need for reforms in the Philippines could no longer be ignored. Would these brothers show enthusiasm for the plan he had in mind?

The "calesa" had stopped, and its driver pointed to a makeshift bamboo bridge spanning the river on whose opposite bank stood the house.

"You will have to walk the rest of the distance, sir," he said. The stranger nodded pleasantly as he held out the fare.

A closer look revealed an old two-story house of stone encircled by high, forbidding walls. The main gate opened into a well-kept orchard where santol trees, tamarinds and chicos burgeoned with fruit.

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[1] Gregorio F. Zaide, *Philippine Political and Cultural History,* Vol. II (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1949), p. 148.

[2] *Ibid.*

He ascended the long flight of stairs and saw Tiburcio and Cecilio Hilario, both lawyers, seriously discussing the political conditions in their province. They stood up to meet their guest who introduced himself thus: "Dr. Jose Rizal."[3] It was in June, 1892.

Both brothers came forward to meet him, their faces beaming with pride and joy at his visit. To them, Rizal represented the ideal Filipino leader who along could guide his people in their struggle against the inequalities of their times.

Rizal talked of his preceding visit in Bulacan where he had met the local intellectuals.[4] More important than this, he spoke of his ideas and of his plan to organize the "Liga Filipina."

Before this time, Rizal was a dreamer, a poet and a philosopher who kept himself aloof from any organization. Now he wanted to be an active organizer himself and a campaigner for a stronger nationalism. Through the "Liga Filipina," a peaceful civic organization, he envisioned reaching the common mass so that they, in turn, would unite to improve the existing state of injustice in this country.[5]

On his departure, he left pamphlets and booklets and then expressed a wish to visit another brother, Francisco, who resided in Tarlac, Tarlac.[6]

Three of the Hilario brothers worked with equal fervor for the Philippine revolution. Procopio became actively engaged in the movement in Tarlac where he settled down after his marriage. He was among the first to die, however, along with Francisco Tañedo, his brother-in-law, a victim of Spanish persecution in that province[7]

Cecilio, the oldest of the three, was a tall, ascetic-looking man who was mild-mannered and kindly in appearance. He lived to hold important positions in the revolutionary government, one of them being a membership in the Malolos Congress in 1898.[8] When General Emilio Aguinaldo's government was transferred to Tarlac, Cecilio was elected one of the secretaries of the National Congress.[9]

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[3] Rizal himself wrote of this visit. In his notes written after his arrival from Hongkong on June 26, 1892, he mentioned his trip to Bulacan and Pampanga. See Teodoro M. Kalaw, Compiler, *Epistolario Rizalino,* National Library of the Philippines, Vol. IV, 1892-1896, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1936), p. 1. This visit was confirmed by the surviving children of Tiburcio Hilario, namely: Filomena Hilario Gwekoh and Zoilo J. Hilario. Also by two of the children of Cecilio Hilario, namely: Suzanne Hilario Mendoza and Natividad Hilario Tolentino, all of whom were interviewed by the author. The residence referred to was the house where both brothers were born and it was located in San Juan, San Fernando, Pampanga.

[4] *Ibid.* Teodoro M. Kalaw, Compiler, *Epistolario Rizalino,* p. 1.

[5] Gregorio F. Zaide, *Philippine Political and Cultural History,* p. 149.

[6] Rizal did not find Procopio Hilario in Tarlac. The latter was in Manila when he arrived. On his way back, however, he met Procopio and had a talk with him on board a barge at Calumpit. Rizal met the Punos and the Villafuertes in Tarlac, (Source: Filomena Hilario Gwekoh and Zoilo J. Hilario).

[7] Teodoro Kalaw, *Historia de la Masoneria en Filipinas,* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1920), p. 195.

Tiburcio Hilario, however, stands out as the brains of the revolutionary movement in Pampanga. He was a member of the Pampanga triumvirate with General Maximino Hizon and Aurelio Tolentino. All these men gave life and vigor to the revolution in that province.[10] Hizon served the cause as the organizer, Tolentino as the coordinator and Hilario as its chief architect.[11]

Tiburcio Hilario was born on August 11, 1863, at barrio San Juan, San Fernando, Pampanga.[12] His father was Anastacio Hilario, who practiced law in Quiapo, Manila. The latter's father came from Bulacan.[13]

As a young lawyer, Anastacio Hilario came to Pampanga at the invitation of one of his clients, Gregorio Tuason, who wanted him to survey and to work for the titles of some of his lands in San Fernando. At that time, Gregorio owned all the fields between San Fernando and Bacolor.[14]

During this visit, Anastacio met Maria, the young daughter of Gregorio, who was then better known as "Mariang Barindi," a descriptive appelation given to her because of her father's wealth. This chance meeting culminated in their marriage and in his decision to practice law in Pampanga, thereby becoming the first lawyer in that province.[15] Out of this wedlock, three children were born, namely, Isabel, the only daughter, Cecilio and Tiburcio. Unfortunately, this marriage was short-lived because of the early death of Maria. Anastacio married a second time and had three more children: Silverio, Procopio and Laureana.[16]

Upon their mother's death, Isabel, who was older than Tiburcio and Cecilio, took her mother's place, caring for her younger brothers with affection, but never failing to discipline them whenever necessary. On the graduation of her two brothers from Sto. Tomas University, she went with her father to Manila, bringing with her silver currency to be given as a donation to the University. (Donating a bagful of silver money was in those days a tradition observed by new graduates of that institution of higher learning). Isabel watched while her two brothers underwent the strenuous and harassing "revalida," an oral examination given by the outstanding law professors in the University, which they passed with flying colors. Their graduation was the most glorious day for Isabel. Her brothers, however, called it "Noche Triste" because it was the end of their college days.[17]

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[8] Felipe G. Calderon, *Mis memorias sobre la revolucion filipina* 1898-1901, (Manila: Imprenta de El Renacimiento, 1907), appendix p. 3.

[9] Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution,* (Manila: Fajardo Press, 1924), p. 195. Kalaw mentions a Basilio Hilario as one of the secretaries, it should read Cecilio in stead.

[10] For a biography of General Hizon, Mamerto Paglinawan, Compiler: *Biografias insignes,* Vol. II, (Manila: Imprenta "El Progreso" 1917), p. 87. This same book referred to Tiburcio Hilario's activities. As Aurelio Tolentino's activities, Zoilo J. Hilario is the source.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Source: Filomena Hilario Gwekoh

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] Anastacio Hilario Ambrosio, source.

What did Tiburcio look like? He never had a picture taken of himself, explaining to all that his looks did not warrant the taking of one — a proof of his modesty. Everyone who met him, however, remembered his intelligent eyes. His face showed a few pock marks. He was taller than the average Filipino in those days and was slightly built but wiry. His children said that his son Ceferino looked like him. But unlike Ceferino, he sported crew-cut hair, known then as an "alfonsino." He loved to wear an "adolfo" hat.[18]

Gentle in speech and manner, Tiburcio was widely known for his happy disposition, the warmth and sincerity of his friendships and his hospitality. An anecdote about him tells that his wife always had to be prepared with food in their home for — whenever he was not too busy with his paper work, he would sit by the window and hail all passersby, never failing to invite every friend he saw to come up and share his lunch or his "merienda" as the case may be. Often, as his wife later recounted, she would protest against his indiscriminate friendships when she saw among his invited guests known good-for-nothing individuals. His answer to those protests was always the same: if he befriended only the good, he would have no company after death, should he find himself in purgatory.[19]

His extreme generosity showed itself not only in his indiscriminate invitations. He also gave money away. A chance funeral that passed by his house would be followed by an inquiry on his part as to who had died. Then he would ask his wife to contribute a little sum for the deceased. The wife would complain that they had not even met the deceased during his lifetime. His answer would be that if they had known him, they would be even more bothered since they would have had to attend the funeral besides.[20]

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[17] Filomena Hilario Gwekoh who grew up with Isabel, is the source.

[18] Zoilo J. Hilario, source.

[19] Adriana Sangalang Hilario, his widow, recounted this so many times to the author in her lifetime. It is also confirmed by Zoilo J. Hilario.

Concern for others was a chief characteristic of his nature. Even when he was seriously ill, he would ask the people around him if they had already eaten. But with all those wonderful traits, he could be at times quick-tempered and impatient. He was also capable of righteous indignation.[21]

His love for animals and for every living thing was extraordinary. He always requested his children to refrain from killing even ants, unless they stung first. He also said that every living thing created by God was here on earth for a purpose. One pet he befriended was an ugly-looking and monstrously big tree lizard, known in Pampango as "tuko." During mealtime, "tuko," as he fondly called him, would announce his coming by making some noise. Immediately, the master of the house would hurry to the kitchen to get a few grains of cooked rice. These he would paste on a post so that the lizard could feed on them. He also enjoyed the companionship of a dog that slept under his bed.[22]

His deep hatred for oppression became widely known when he began the practice of law. A case in point was his quiet but apparent dislike for a Spanish judge of the Court of First Instance in Bacolor who was prejudiced against him and extremely partial to a certain lawyer. This state of affairs become known to his good friend Colonel Eugenio Blanco of Macabebe and the colonel challenged the judge to a duel. After that, the judge was more careful and impartial in his decisions.[23]

The Spaniards and the pro-Spanish in those days never had any sympathy for him. One of them always made the sign of the cross whenever he passed by his house. He said that the devil lived there.[24]

Tiburcio Hilario, nevertheless, was able to hold a prominent position at a time when Filipinos were hardly given on opportunity to have a voice in their government. He was for a while on ad interim judge of the Court of First Instance in Pangasinan.[25]

The peaceful revolutionary planning of Tiburcio Hilario was unluckily cut short one day in 1892. In a letter, Governor General

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[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Filomena Hilario Gwekoh, source.

[22] Zoilo J. Hilario, source.

[23] Zoilo J. Hilario, source.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] Filomena Hilario Gwekoh, source.

Despujol ordered all governors and captains of the "guardia civil" in Lipa and Taal, Batangas; Bulacan, Cavite, Pampanga, and Laguna to watch the movements of the inhabitants in these places.[26] The introduction and distribution of pamphlets which opposed the Catholic church or "national unity" was prohibited on July 7, 1892.[27] As a result, the houses visited by Rizal were watched and minutely inspected. Cecilio Hilario's house at Palawi, a short distance from the ancestral home at San Juan, where Rizal visited him and his brother, was searched, and the pamphlets left by Rizal yielded a clue to the revolutionary activities in the Hilarios.[28]

The first to be arrested by the "guardia civil" was Tiburcio Hilario, who lived in his own house at barrio San Vicente (in front of the Chapel there) in Bacolor, the capital of Pampanga in those days. Upon his arrest, he sent a secret dispatch to his brother, telling him to escape at once. Cecilio heard of the message in his house at Palawi, near the "Darabulbul" bridge (now close to the Pasudeco) in San Fernando, but he insisted on waiting for the Spaniards because his brother had already been arrested and he wanted to share his fate. Both were imprisoned in Bacolor and later were exiled.[29]

Mass exiles and deportations, resulting from the growing unrest, was the order of the day.[30] In Pampanga, the first deportees to be shipped to different places included General Maximiano Hizon, Mamerto Lacsamana, Mariano and Felix David and Balbuena of Guagua.[31] Tiburcio was sent to Siasi and Cecilio to Balabac.

Although Tiburcio Hilario failed to prevent his own exile, he succeeded in saving two of his closest friends from the same fate. One of these was Don Leandro Ibarra, a lawyer from Lubao, Pampanga, who later became the Secretary of Interior in the Cabinet of General Aguinaldo.[32] (Later, Don Leandro Ibarra offered Hilario's widow the support of one of her sons in school). The other was his cousin, Marcelo Hilario del Pilar, who in his younger days was an "oficial de mesa" in Pampanga.[33] Del Pilar had a law partnership covering the provinces of Tarlac, Pampanga and Bulacan with Tiburcio and Cecilio Hilario prior to his escape to Madrid.[34] That relationship was close because of their common belief in the justices of the cause of the people.

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[26] Teodoro M. Kalaw, Compiler, *Epistolario Rizalino,* Vol. IV, pp. 11-12; Teodoro Kalaw, *La revolucion filipina,* (Manila: Fajardo Press, 1924), p. 11.

[27] Teodoro M. Kalaw, *La revolucion filipina, Ibid.*

[28] Zoilo J. Hilario, source.

[29] Filomena Hilario Gwekoh

[30] Teodoro M. Kalaw, Compiler, *Epistolario Filipino,* Vol. IV, pp. 12-15.

[31] Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution,* (Manila: The Manila Book Co., 1925), p. 5; also Filomena Hilario Gwekoh, source.

[32] Apolinario Mabini, *La revolucion filipina,* Vol. I & II, p. 209 Teodoro M. Kalaw, *La Revolucion Filipina,* (Manila: Fajardo Press, 1924), p. 74.

[33] Del Pilar's original family name was Hilario until 1840 when by a decree of Governor Claveria, the name del Pilar was added. See Epifanio de los Santos, "Marcelo H. del Pilar," *Philippine Review,* Manila, October 1918, No. 10, p. 775.

The anti-Spanish and the anti-clerical activities of Marcelo Hilario del Pilar became increasingly known to the Spaniards and they decided to have him arrested. By sheer coincidence, news of the decision reached Tiburcio Hilario and he sent a trusted friend, Mamerto Lacsamana, to warn del Pilar of his impending arrest.[35] He advised his cousin to leave for Spain at once. It is a matter of history that del Pilar was able to escape from Bulacan in the nick of time, to play his heroic role as the propagandist of the Philippine Revolution abroad.[36]

Adriana Sangalang Hilario, Tiburcio's wife, used to narrate that Mamerto Lacsamana was dispatched from Bacolor with a team of the swiftest black horses, which he changed at Calumpit for fresh ones. He reached del Pilar in Bulacan.[37]

At the beginning of his exile, Tiburcio Hilario found life away from his family almost unbearable. The guards were strict. He was always confined to his shack. In his solitude, he found interest in watching the sea and the green hills and islets nearby. One morning, after a strong earthquake, he was unnerved to find one of his favorite islets gone.[38]

He found friends, however, among the Moros in the vicinity. They brought him fish, dried venison, bananas and durian. Later, through a Chinese merchant in Siasi, he was able to correspond his family in Bacolor. The merchant sent his letters to another Chinese, "Inchic" Lorenzo, a store-keeper in Bacolor and a godson of Don Tiburcio.[39] Through this route, food, provisions and money were sent to him by members of his family. His brother in Balabac was similarly assisted. Tiburcio's wife continually raised money to make his stay in Siasi comfortable. In the process, the family lands in barrio Talba, in Bacolor, and in Misalipitan, between Santo Tomas and Minalin, Pampanga, were sold.[40]

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[34] Zoilo J. Hilario, source.

[35] Jose Turiano Santiago, one of the first members of the Katipunan of Andres Bonifacio, often told Zoilo Hilario about this. His information came from his brother-in-law, Jose Dizon, the venerable grand master of logia "Taliba." This checks with the story of Adriano Sangalang Hilario in her lifetime. Zoilo J. Hilario and Filomena Hilario Gwekoh also say that this is true.

[36] Zoilo M. Galang, *Important Characters in Philippine History,* (Manila: Philippine Schoolbook Company, 1939), pp. 41-44.

[37] Filomena Hilario Gwekoh, source.

[38] *Ibid.* Siasi is between Sulu and Tawi-Tawi in the Sulu Archipelago and Balabac islands is between North Borneo and Palawan.

[39] Zoilo J. Hilario, source. Zoilo Hilario further states that after his father's death, "Inchic" Lorenzo had a store in Manila and he gave him candies and money while a student then.

Don Tiburcio also found a friend in Don Justo Teodoro, who opened his house to him, giving him all the aid and comfort he could provide for a friend and countryman fighting a lonely struggle against nostalgia and frustration in a distant town.[41]

When Rizal's exile in Dapitan was over, Tiburcio Hilario, as was true in the case of his brother Cecilio, was sent to the Bilibid prisons in Manila with the intentions of making him testify against Rizal during the latter's trial. By this time, both Tiburcio and Cecilio had completed around two years of exile and imprisonment. They refused to testify against Rizal.[42]

The family of Tiburcio Hilario joined him in Manila. They rented the second floor of the three-story house of Don Francisco Reyes at 1414 Azcarraga.[43] For a while, his family was permitted to visit him only once a week in prison. Later, he was granted permission to live with them at Azcarraga, and his brother was permitted to join him there. Every Friday, however, both were required to report to Don Pedro Paterno.[44] The "Guardia Civil" never forgot to visit their place at Azcarraga in those days.[45]

The Reyes house soon became an important center of revolutionary activity. Don Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, later one of the political advisers of General Aguinaldo,[46] had his law office in that house. Pampango leaders frequented it. Don Modesto Joaquin (who later became Director of Labor), Felix Galura, Pedro Liongson, Andres Serrano and Aurelio Tolentino often came to the house to consult the Hilarios. Rianzares Bautista and Gregorio Aglipay took turns there in coordinating their work with the other revolutionists. During one of their meetings the "guardia civil" came and Tiburcio Hilario sent his only daughter with her cousin, Florencia Halili, to burn documents in the bathroom.[47]

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[40] *Ibid.*

[41] Don Justo Teodoro is the father of Judge Anastacio Teodoro and grandfather of the late newspaperman Jorge Teodoro who died in Korea while working for the United Nations.

[42] Court records do not carry any such testimony on the part of the Hilario brothers. Both Filomena and Zoilo confirm that no such testimony was made by them.

[43] The house still stands in Azcarraga. Mrs. Carmen Reyes Icasiano states that its number had changed since then. Mrs. Icasiano is the daughter of Don Francisco and a sister of the late Nicanor Reyes, founder of the Far Eastern University.

[44] Mamerto Pagkalinawan, *Biografias Insignes,* pp. 49-54.

[45] Filomena Hilario Gwekoh, source.

[46] Teodoro Kalaw, *La Revolucion Filipina,* (Manila: Fajardo Press, 1924), p. 49.

[47] Filomena Hilario Gwekoh, source.

The arrival of Admiral Dewey in Manila on May 1, 1898[48] gladdened the hearts of many Filipinos. Tiburcio Hilario was no exception. Like other professionals during that period, he looked up to America because of its success in achieving independence. The American revolution was to the Filipinos a source of inspiration in their own struggle for freedom. They had also heard of America's democratic government based on the most liberal written constitution at the time, which guaranteed individual liberties through a bill of rights, something which every patriotic Filipino yearned to see instituted in his own country.[49]

The revolutionists discussed the impact of the arrival of the Americans. Everyone in the Azcarraga house, as well as the others with whom they had contact, wanted to know the real purpose behind the coming of the Americans. One midnight Rianzares Bautista with Aurelio Tolentino took a small banca and tried to board one of the American warships. He brought with him a small Filipino flag which he and his companion waved near the warship. They were met by strong searchlights and cannon ready to fire, but Rianzares Bautista took off his white shirt and waved it, shouting "Amigos, Amigos" and they were permitted to board the ship and an interpreter was summoned. Rianzares Bautista wanted to know if the Americans came as friends and liberators.[50]

The sympathy given by the Reyes family to the cause of the revolutionists cannot be over-estimated. From plain landlords, they became friends and comrades, particularly of the Pampango leaders. They served them as watchers in their floor home and observed everyone who came near by. The presence of any stranger in the vicinity was reported immediately. In this way, they were able to save the Hilarios from further imprisonment and from the Spanish gallows.[51]

Three days after the arrival of the Americans in Manila, about May 4, 1898, Tiburcio was secretly advised to return to Pampanga. He took a train with his family. When he arrived in

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[48] *Op. Cit.*, p. 45.

[49] Constitution of the United States of America, Revised and Annotated, Senate Document 232, 74th Congress, 2nd Session, (Washington, D. C., 1936), pp. 761-1011. All these pages deal minutely with individual liberties as provided for in the American Constitution.

[50] Carmen Reyes Icasiano and Zoilo J. Hilario, sources. See Mamerto Pagkalinawan, *Biografias Insignes* pp. 18-31.

[51] Don Francisco Reyes is the grandfather of Congressman from Manila Joaquin Roces and the City Vice Mayor of Manila Jesus Marcos Roces. Filomena Hilario Gwekoh and Zoilo J. Hilario, sources.

San Fernando, the Spaniards there had already been alerted on his escape from Manila.[52] But he was not caught.

War was in the air. The Spaniards in San Fernando had occupied the big house of Dorong Tola (Teodoro Santos) located at Sagasta Street in the poblacion. General Maximino Hizon was already in hiding, preparing his forces for the uprising in Pampanga. Followers of Tiburcio Hilario secretly brought him and his brother, in pitch of darkness, to their ancestral home in San Juan where they looked for their sister Isabel. From there, they proceeded to barrio San Isidro, Bacolor, where they went into hiding.[53]

Francisco Reyes and his family came to join the Hilarios. They had to leave Manila because the Spaniards had learned of the escape of Don Tiburcio and Don Cecilio to Pampanga.[54]

At San Isidro, the Hilarios were informed that armed uprising had commenced in Bacolor. The same was true in other towns of Pampanga. Volunteers in Bacolor caught the Spanish priest of Sta. Rita and brought him to Don Tiburcio.

The Spanish priest was in great fear for his life. The "insurrectos" openly suggested to Don Tiburcio that he be sentenced to death. The priest trembled in fear. The mere drop of a gun on the floor brought shivers down his spine. The two brothers knew the temper of their people. But in their hearts they also knew that when an enemy was beaten, he deserved compassion and charity. They, therefore, gave him their fastest horse and permitted him to escape during the night. They afterwards counseled their followers to be moderate.[55]

Later in the revolution against Spain, a Pampango officer, Lt. Pedro Liongson, was caught by the Spaniards. Hearing that a revolutionary leader in Pampanga had been captured, the priest whom the Hilario brothers had set free wrote the Governor-General and the Spanish Commander in Pampanga. The priest who had been able to return to Spain, pleaded with the Spanish officials, stating that if the captured leader happened to be either of the Hilario brothers, he deserved to be released for the kindness they had shown him.[56]

From San Isidro, the Hilarios proceeded to the town proper of Bacolor. There, while they were resting in the house of Marcela Samia, they saw fire in the distance. It was Tiburcio's house burning. The "guardia civil" turned it into cinders and with it went the remaining worldly possessions of Tiburcio Hilario.[57]

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[52] Filomena Hilario Gwekoh.

[53] *Ibid.* Also Zoilo J. Hilario, source.

[54] Carmen Reyes Icasiano, source.

[55] Zoilo and Filomena Hilario.

[56] *Ibid.*

Fighting between the "insurrectos" and the "guardia civil" ensued. The Spaniards were sided by loyalist soldiers from Macabebe, whose leader, Don Eugenio Blanco, was a former sympathizer of the revolutionists. A great disappointment turned Colonel Blanco against the revolutionists. When General Ricardo Monet, the Spanish military commander in Pampanga, noticed that the uprising in Pampanga was gaining momentum, he requested Colonel Blanco to obtain a safe conduct to Spain for his wife. Colonel Blanco gave his word as a gentleman and soldier and he requested General Aguinaldo for permission to send Mrs. Monet to Spain. The latter refused.[58]

Finding himself without a house of his own in Bacolor, Tiburcio Hilario proceeded to San Antonio, another barrio of Bacolor, and sought refuge in the house of the Mendozas. From there, he and his family proceeded to Maliwalu the home of Capitan Domingo Panlilio. Then they continued their trek to Angeles to the to the residence of Capitan Catalino Pamintuan in barrio Anonas. Their last stop was at barrio Banaba, in Angeles, in the home of Capitan Gayo Makapinlac.[59]

The revolution spread like wild fire, not only in Pampanga but in Cavite, Batangas, Mindoro, Tayabas, Laguna, Morong, Bulacan, Bataan, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, Pangasinan, La Union, Infante and Zambales.[60] In the meantime, Aguinaldo, with the advice of Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, formed a dictatorship which lasted for a month.[61] On June 23, 1898, the Revolutionary Government replaced the dictatorship after it had proclaimed Philippine Independence at Kawit, Cavite, on June 12, 1898.[62] By decree of June 18, 1898, the municipal and provincial governments of the Philippines were organized.[63]

In Pampanga, the town "presidentes" met as an electoral assembly and elected Tiburcio Hilario in absentia as Revolutionary

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[57] *Ibid.*

[58] *Ibid.*

[59] *Ibid.* Also see Gregorio F. Zaide, *Philippine Political and Cultural History,* Vol. II (Manila: Philippine Educational Co., 1949), p. 188.

[60] Apolinario Mabini, *La revolución filipina,* Vol. I. (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1931) p. 210.

[61] Teodoro M. Kalaw. *La revolución filipina,* (Manila: Fajardo Press, 1924), p. 49.

[62] *Ibid.* p. 58.

[63] Apolinario Mabini, *La revolución filipina,* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1931), p. 201.

Governor. These town "presidentes" had been previously elected by the male inhabitants of the province, twenty-one years of age or over. This election was later confirmed by the central government, on the recommendation of Don Leandro Ibarra, then Secretary of Interior under Aguinaldo.[64]

When Tiburcio Hilario was notified of his election, he was confronted with the need of decent clothes befitting his office. Friends scoured the neighborhood for them.

Don Tiburcio returned to Bacolor in triumph. His family lived in the "convento" where the furniture was of the best quality. The tableware was of gold. The harnesses of the governor's horses were decorated and studded with silver. All this was, of course, a relic of the glorious days of the Spanish parish priest who preceded Don Tiburcio at the "convento." The new priest was a Filipino, Father Maximo Biron, who gave up the "convento" so that the governor could use it as his residence. The priest lived in a house adjacent to the "convento."[65]

After taking his oath of office, Tiburcio Hilario embarked on his new mission with zeal and energy.[66] He appealed to the rich and to the poor to contribute cash and food to the cause of the revolution. Many responded to his pleas. Dorotea Rodriguez Sioco, Manuel Escaler and Joaquin Gonzales were but a few of those who contributed generously to the cause. His Chinese godchildren gave money and food for the sustenance of the army in Pampanga. A Chinese baker in Guagua rationed bread to the soldiers every day during the war.[67]

Rice and palay were stocked in the "convento." Every day, with the help of the ladies of the local Red Cross, Hilario rationed food and clothing to the families of soldiers who were fighting, as well as to those of the wounded or dead. Rations depended on the number of people in the soldier's family.[68]

Tiburcio Hilario's firm belief in democratic processes can be gleaned from two misunderstandings he had with General Maximino Hizon, the recognized military leader of Pampanga.

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[64] Zoilo J. Hilario is now in possession of the appointment.

[65] *Ibid* and Filomena Hilario Gwekoh.

[66] For the governors oath of office, see Apolinario Mabini, *La Revolución Filipina,* Vol. I, p. 201. It was the same oath taken by department secretaries under Aguinaldo. It read thus: "Juro por Dios y por mi honor acatar las leyes y disposiciones vigentes y cumplir fielmente al cargo que espontaneamente acepto, pejo las penas establecidas por las mismas. Asi sea."

[67] Zoilo J. Hilario, source.

[68] *Ibid* and Filomena Hilario Gwekoh.

On a visit to the convento of San Fernando, then the headquarters of General Hizon, Governor Hilario passed by a "caballero" tree (flame tree) in the churchyard and he saw a man dangling from it, dead. He asked General Hizon why the man was hanged. He was told that the man was a spy. Hilario then asked if evidence had been found against him and whether he had a fair trial. The General said that since it was wartime, only a summary trial was given the prisoner. Hilario then told General Hizon that there should never be indiscriminate executions, that the life of every Filipino was worth saving, and that the revolution was launched to save Filipino lives and guarantee to the people their individual liberties.[69]

The other disagreement occurred when General Hizon ordered the imprisonment of his own uncle, Don Florentino Hizon, in the belfry of the church of San Fernando because he donated only a paltry sum to the cause. Don Tiburcio expressed his opposition to the General's order. He said contributions should not be compulsory but voluntary.[70]

The Governor, however, had the highest regard for the bravery and patriotism of General Hizon.[71]

The successes of the Filipinos after the proclamation of Philippine independence did not last long. Their new friends and allies, the Americans, drifted away from them after the Spaniards were defeated. The first sign of tension in Philippine-American relations came on August 13, 1898, when Filipino troops who had taken part in the battle for Manila were not allowed to enter the city and share in the victory celebration.[72] The outbreak of open Philippine-American hostilities came about when Private Robert Grayson was shot on February 4, 1899.[73] This was followed by the attack on Manila by General Antonio Luna on February 22 of the same year, an attack which failed.[74]

The battlefields of Luzon again became the scene of fighting, this time between Americans and Filipinos, with both sides sustaining heavy casualties. American reinforcements under General Lawton had been pouring into the country. The campaign in southern

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[69] Zoilo J. Hilario, source.

[70] *Ibid.*

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] James A. Leroy, *The Americans in the Philippines.* (Boston and New York, Houghton Miflin Co., 1914) p. 1.

[73] Apolinario Mabini, *La revolución filipina,* Vol. 1, p. 259; Gregorio F. Zaide, *Philippine Political and Cultural History,* Vol. II, (Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1949), p. 217.

[74] James A. Leroy, *Op. Cit.,* pp. 22-28.

Luzon was begun in April, 1899.[75] The battles of Sta. Cruz, Laguna, of Zapote, and of Perez Dasmariñas were hard fought. After the occupation of Malolos by the Americans, troops of resistance were placed under the command of General Luna who already had started mapping out a general plan of attack in various strategic points.[76] A solid line of resistance was conceived, the right wing of which rested on Hagonoy and the left in the hills of the municipality of Sta. Maria. A division, composed of troops dispersed in preceding engagements and of forces from Pampanga and Nueva Ecija, held out this line, for it had as natural defenses the Bagbag river, Quiñgua forests, and the undulating terrain of Sta. Maria, Bulacan. While the eneemy was assembling forces for an attack in Malolos, the Filipino army, was building strong trenches along their first line of defense, the Sta. Maria-Hagonoy line. Its central brigade formed a second line of defense, with the Rio Grande of Pampanga as a base.[77]

It was at this time when General Luna ordered General Tomas Mascardo of Cavite, to send reinforcements to the Bagbag area from Guagua, Pampanga. The order was carried out tardily and grudgingly because General Mascardo was attending a dance.[78] General Luna ordered his arrest for twelve hours. Mascardo refused to consider himself under arrest, his argument being that while the decree of General Aguinaldo placed all the troops of the provinces of Pampanga and Nueva Ecija under Luna's orders, it did not specify that the general officers of these troops also had to consider themselves subordinates of General Luna.[79]

The root cause of this conflict goes deeper. While it was primarily military in nature, it had its political counterpart in the province of Pampanga. There, two prominent citizens of Bacolor were anxious to get the governorship from Tiburcio Hilario. In their desire to achieve this end, they befriended General Mascardo and even reported a plot whereby General Luna was supposed to ease Aguinaldo out of his exalted position with the aid of the provincial governor of Pampanga. General Mascardo reported this to General Aguinaldo. In the meantime, reports against the Governor were also sent to General Luna who dispatched his aide, Colonel Francisco Roman, to look into the charges. Colonel Roman not only found the charges to be totally unfounded but also confirmed previous military reports of General Mascardo's insubordination, laxity in the performance of his official duties, and general tendency to take things easy. When his twelve hour arrest was ordered, Mascardo told Luna's emissary: "If General Luna has guts enough to enforce his orders, General Mascardo has enough to resist."[80]

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[75] Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution*, (Manila: The Manila Book Co., Inc., 1925), p. 177.

[76] *Ibid.*

[77] Epifanio de los Santos, "How the Battle of Bagbag was Lost," Philippine Review, March, 1917, Vol. II, pp. 40-44.

[78] *Ibid.*

[79] *Ibid.*

On learning of this incident, Colonel Roman went to Luna's headquarters and manifested to the General that to ignore the incident would be a sign of weakness, something which should be avoided in the army.[81] General Luna then wired Governor Hilario to prepare for his arrival.[82] He also ordered a special train where all available infantry, cavalry, and artillery forces were loaded.[83]

Sensing tension in the air, Don Tiburcio met General Luna and pleaded with him for peace and unity at a crucial moment in the history of the Republic. A bevy of Pampango beauties who belonged to the Red Cross also met Luna, kneeling down on the steps of the "convento," in Bacolor, to dissuade him from his purpose of annihilating Mascardo. Among those ladies were Praxedes Fajardo, president of the local Red Cross and Nicolasa Dayrit, later Mrs. Vicente Panlilio of San Fernando. In turn, the Governor sent three emissaries to Guagua to convince General Mascardo to surrender. To Governor Hilario, the welfare of the Republic was greater than any one man. But Mascardo was nowhere to be found and General Luna proceeded with his troops to Guagua, the former's headquarters. What could have been a serious incident was averted, however, when later General Mascardo appeared in Betis, riding his "quiles," and informed General Luna that he was willing to abide by his decisions.[84]

General Luna arrived at his headquarters in the afternoon of that fateful day to learn that the Bagbag line had already fallen.[85] The only remaining point of support was that at barrio Sta. Lucia, Calumpit, which, despite the fierce resistance offered by General Luna, was occupied by the invading army the next day. Two days later, with the first bulwark taken by the enemy, the strenuously resisting Filipino forces were routed at the Rio Grande de Calumpit, and this defeat threw open to American invasion the provinces of Pampanga and Nueva Ecija.

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[80] *Ibid.*
[81] *Ibid.*
[82] *Source,* Filomena Hilario Gwekoh.
[83] *Op. Cit.*
[84] Zoilo J. Hilario
[85] *Op. Cit.*

While Calumpit was burning,[86] Tiburcio Hilario was at the belfry of the church in Bacolor with his children. Upon seeing the town in conflagration, he shed tears, believing that the Philippine cause perished with the capture of that town. With emotion he told his young children, "The capture of Calumpit is a sad thing. It is the death knell of the Republic."[87]

Tiburcio Hilario had to be on the move again. From Bacolor, he proceeded to Angeles with his family. This time, his trip was even more perilous since he had to bring with him the "emprestito" of the whole province of Pampanga. The "emprestito" was the sum total of the funds of the provincial government and it amounted to about a million pesos. This included the voluntary contributions of the Pampangueños, the war bonds and the aid given by the Chinese there, whose cooperation to the revolutionary cause is unquestioned. This sum was well packed in a trunk four feet long, four feet high and more than a meter wide — made of the hardest wood and of iron. To carry the trunk, four carabaos were needed, two taking turns at the same time to pull the cart on which it was loaded. Four armed men took charge of the delicate job of guarding it.[88]

On May 4, 1899, Sto. Tomas, Pampanga, was taken. Luna was wounded near the railroad station there.[89] The following day, San Fernando, in flames, was occupied by the enemy.[90] With the news, it became imperative that he proceed at once to Concepcion. This he did with a trusted friend, Aurelio Pineda.[91] Both went to Apunan Awak, a barrio of that town, and were given refuge by Guillermo Baron's family. His wife and children were entrusted to Catalino Pamintuan, who sent them soon after to Concepcion on three carts.[92]

When Tiburcio Hilario was in Apunan Awak, he often went to report to General Aguinaldo at his headquarters. One early morning while he was on his way to make such a report, he proved to himself that helping the poor and the unknown had its rewards. He and his friend Don Maximo Kabigting were on horseback, on their way to the town of Concepcion enroute to Tarlac. They knew that they were not making much progress, and when they met a man, they asked him the way to the town. The man pointed the way to a path, but after a lapse of several minutes, the stranger showed signs of hesitation and addressed Don Tiburcio thus:

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[86] Gregorio F. Zaide, *Philippine Political and Cultural History,* Vol. II, p. 219.

[87] Zoilo J. Hilario, source.

[88] Filomena Hilario Gwekoh, source.

[89] Gregorio F. Zaide, *Philippine Political and Cultural History,* Vol. II, p. 219. Also, Teodoro M. Kalaw, *La Revolución Filipina,* p. 97.

[90] *Ibid.*

[91] Aurelio Pineda later became a representative for Tarlac.

[92] Zoilo J. Hilario.

"Are you not Don Tiburcio Hilario?"

"Yes," the governor replied.

The man then exclaimed: "Forgive me, sir! I should not have pointed that way to you, for bandits are sure to fall upon you if you follow that trail. This opposite one is the safe way."

And then he added, "Don Tiburcio, you defended me once in a case of thievery. I am still grateful."[93]

From Apunan Awak, Don Tiburcio went to Concepcion proper, residing in the house of Alejandro Siapo. One day while he was there, Emilio Ejercito of Cavite requested him to proceed immediately to Tarlac for a conference with President Aguinaldo. He consented at once. On his way down, he noticed that his house was encircled by soldiers. Later, he found out that Ejercito had instructions to shoot him if he became too difficult to deal with. Why? He never knew the reason. It might have been because of intrigues, of which he must have been the victim. That same day a terrible thing happened in Cabanatuan. His friend, General Luna was slain.[94] The encirclement of his house at Concepcion gave rise to many conjectures. Some said that it was a precautionary measure in connection with the assassination of Luna, who was suspected of wishing to establish his own regime with Hilario's aid.[95] Upon Hilario's arrival in Tarlac, he was informed that President Aguinaldo was in Cabanatuan, and he proceeded toward that provincial capital.

General Luna's death on June 5, 1899, is still shrouded in mystery. Different versions have been given as to the cause of the assassination. It seems logical, however, to believe that it was due to a combination of many reasons.

It is true that General Luna, after the battle of Calumpit, expressed a great desire to reorganize his forces. He prepared another defensive plan with the mountains of Benguet as the invulnerable bulwark of the struggle against the Americans. In this process, he enforced discipline without fear or favor.[96]

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[93] *Ibid.*

[94] General Luna was killed on June 5, 1899. See Gregorio F. Zaide, *Philpipine Political and Cultural History,* Vol. II, (Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1949), p. 221.

[95] Tiburcio Hilario's children give more weight to intrigue in Pampanga politics as the case for the encirclement of their house in Concepcion.

[96] Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution,* (Manila: Fajardo Press, 1924) p. 187.

He also expressed his desire to become the head of the Cabinet, with the war portfolio as his, so as to prevent those who would accept autonomy in government as the price of freedom from directing the affairs of the Republic.[97] Luna's stand created enemies for himself. It was insinuated that he wished to become a dictator. It was even said he had designs to oust General Aguinaldo from the Presidency through a coup d'etat. Aguinaldo was said to have given credence to these rumors.[98]

When Aguinaldo expressed the wish to see Luna at Cabanatuan, the latter, who thought he would be asked to form a Cabinet, went there and was treacherously killed. General Aguinaldo was at that time reported to be at San Fernando.[99]

On his way to Cabanatuan, Governor Hilario met President Aguinaldo at Angeles, Pampanga. He also met the brothers of General Luna, Juan and Joaquin, in Angeles. All joined the celebration of the first anniversary of the Philippine Republic on June 12, 1899.[100] At the parade commemorating the day, President Aguinaldo requested Joaquin Luna to speak. The latter all but choked with emotion. He also asked the Pampanga governor to speak, the occasion having been turned into a necrological service for General Luna. The latter demurred, excusing himself of a cold.[101] General Aguinaldo then made his own speech extolling Luna and promising justice for his death.[102]

The investigation which followed ascribed Luna's death to insults and aspersions hurled by the fiery general.[103] Some people gave credence to the story that the slapping of Felipe Buencamino by Luna at the Congress in San Isidro, which was held on May 5, 1899,[104] also was a contributory factor in the General's death. Tiburcio Hilario was present in that Congress and he tried to pacify Luna and Buencamino during that incident.

On June 21, 1899, Aguinaldo and his staff moved from Angeles to Tarlac, this town having been made on that date the Capital of the Republic.[105] There, Tiburcio Hilario turned over to persons authorized by General Aguinaldo the "emprestito" of Pampanga for the use of the Philippine government in Tarlac.[106] This money was delivered to Aguinaldo's government in the house of Julian Santos and in the presence of many witnesses.[107]

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[97] *Ibid.* p. 188.

[98] *Ibid.* pp. 187-198.

[99] Juan Villamor, *Tragedia de Cabanatuan, Crimen O Razon de Estado?* (Manila: "Dia Filipino" Press, 1930) p. 8.

[100] Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution,* p. 191.

[101] *Ibid.* Zoilo J. Hilario's account.

[102] Op. Cit., pp. 191-192.

[103] Kalaw, *Ibid.*

[104] The drama, "Historia de Un Crimen" by Severiano Concepcion presented at the Manila Opera House in the early 1910s dealth with this; Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution,* (Manila: Manila Book Co., Inc. 1925), pp. 183-184.

[105] Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution,* p. 106.

By decree of July 7, 1899, new members of the National Congress were appointed to succeed those unable to attend the sessions. In the newly appointed group was Tiburcio Hilario and Venancio Concepcion who represented Iloilo.[108] On July 14, 1899, the National Congress elected its officers headed by Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista. Two representatives who were natives of Pampanga were elected Vice-Presidents, Tiburcio Hilario and Mateo Gutierrez.[109] On August 14, 1899, Hilario was appointed Justice of the Supreme Court[110] with Apolinario Mabini as the Chief Justice.[111] Another appointment he received was a professorship in law at the "Universidad de Filipinas" in Tarlac.[112]

After Luna's death, the Filipino forces encountered disasters everywhere. On November 13, 1899, Aguinaldo and his military escort, with various members of the Cabinet, some ladies, a Cavite battalion and a company of artillery left for Bayambang on a special train. There the railroad trains were destroyed and Aguinaldo started his journey, full of intense sufferings. He was later captured at Palanan.[113] Tiburcio Hilario tried to follow Aguinaldo to Bayambang-Bautista but heard that the trains were no longer in operation. He, therefore, left for Urbiztondo and later for Mañgatarem, where the Americans caught up with him at the house of Hilarion Cañiza. In the meantime, his two sons fell ill of smallpox.[114]

From Mañgatarem, Hilario proceeded to Dagupan to defend Colonel Vicente Prado, a revolutionary leader accused of being responsible for the death of many Americans. Colonel Prado was sentenced to die and while he was being executed, Don Tiburcio's house was encircled again, this time by American soldiers. In the course of Colonel Prado's trial, the Americans realized that the attorney for the defense was no other than the revolutionary governor of Pampanga. He had to take his oath of allegiance to the United States.[115]

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[106] Filomeno Hilario Gwekoh, source.

[107] *Ibid.*

[108] This appointment of Tiburcio Hilario is in the possession of Zoilo J. Hilario, his son. See Teodoro M. Kalaw, *La Revolución Filipina*, who mentions this appointment on page 106.

[109] Teodoro M. Kalaw, *Ibid* p. 106.

[110] Appointment is in the hands of Zoilo J. Hilario.

[111] Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution*, p. 195.

[112] Appointment is in the hands of Zoilo J. Hilario.

[113] Op. Cit., pp. 218-220.

[114] Zoilo J. Hilario, source.

Without funds of his own, Tiburcio Hilario was forced to rely on friends for his livelihood in Pangasinan. At Dagupan, Hilarion Magno supplied him with food. When the supply was low, Magno even went to the "guardias de honor," people who were not necessarily bandits but who had retreated to the mountains in fear for their lives.[116]

At Lingayen, he met his old friend, Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, then Judge of the Court of First Instance. Judge Rianzares Bautista convinced him to continue the practice of law in Pangasinan, and he stayed two years in that province.[117]

Thoughts of home came to him often but it was the education of his children, particularly that of his two sons, which made him decide to return to Bacolor. Friends in Pangasinan urged him to stay, particularly those from Mañgatarem who refused to let him leave and even offered to defray the expenses of his children's studies.[118]

We finally returned to Bacolor to build anew from the ruins of the past and to resume his practice of law. His last important case was the defense of Modesto Joaquin, Benito Vergara, Macario Gamu, Manuel Ruiz and Cristino Ongton, who were accused of rebellion against the American regime. He succeeded, along with other lawyers, in having some of them acquitted by Judge Manuel Araullo of the Court of First Instance of Pampanga.[119] Tiburcio Hilario later told his family of an incident prior to the decision of the case. Judge Araullo asked the accused if they had ever killed any American. They answered in the negative but admitted that they had organized a society to rekindle love of country in time of peace. The Judge then said that patriotism was not a crime and he acquitted those who had no other incriminating evidence against them.[120]

One day early in 1903, Tiburcio Hilario fell ill. Everyone thought that he had cholera, and his doctors treated him for that disease. His health, however, continued to fail, and Capitana

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[115] *Ibid.* Zoilo J. Hilario further recounts that he had just come from the execution when he saw their house encircled by the Americans. It was the first execution he had ever seen in his life.

[116] *Ibid.*

[117] Filomena Hilario Gwekoh.

[118] *Ibid.*

[119] Judge Araullo later became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

[120] Zoilo J. Hilario, source. "Benito Vergara vs. U.S." *Philippine Reports* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908), pp. 432-433.

"Matia" Rodriguez Sioco and Don Manuel Escolar requested a famous physician, Dr. Santiago Barcelona of Manila, to treat him in Bacolor. Dr. Barcelona diagnosed Hilario's case as "Scarlatine" (Scarlet Fever), the only one known in the medical history of the Philippines.

Surrounded by his family, Hilario died in the house of Doña Marcela Samia, near the "Gugu" bridge in San Vicente, Bacolor. Three days after his burial, Felipe Calderon came to offer him an appointment as Registrar General of Deeds under the American Administration.[121]

When Tiburcio Hilario died, the great and the rich of Pampanga came to Bacolor. But the bulk of those who attended his funeral were the common people of the barrios whom he had helped, befriended, and loved. His funeral was a fitting tribute to a life full of service in one of the most turbulent phases of Philippine history.

His widow deeply mourned his death, but being a woman gifted with vision and unusual courage, she bore her grief bravely and took up the task of bringing up his three children seriously and successfully.[122] The only outward sign of her bereavement was her constant wearing of black from the age of twenty-five, when her husband died, until her death at the age of eighty-four.

Not only his fellow human beings mourned his death but also his pet dog, "Tigre." Behaving like a human being "Tigre" sprawled himself on his dead master's chest and moaned loud and long. After the funeral, the widow gave "Tigre" to a friend of her late husband, Don Macario Galang of San Fernando, because the presence of the dog reminded her so much of his master. In San Fernando, Tigre was chained but he managed to free himself every afternoon to visit his master's grave in Bacolor. Passing by the family residence in San Vicente, he would bark as if to reproach the members of his master's family for giving him away. Visitors to Hilario's grave would see the dog lying on top of his tomb. Tigre followed his master after two weeks.[123]

Tiburcio Hilario, brains of the Philippine Revolution in Pampanga, died on February 18, 1903, barely 40 years of age. He led an active life dedicated to the cause of his country's freedom. As a patriotic public servant, remuneration was least in his mind. He served the cause of the revolution without salary. As a law practitioner, as law professor and later, as a Justice of the Supreme Court, he was primarily concerned with the proper dispensation of justice.

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[121] Filomena Hilario Gwekoh, source.

[122] His two sons Ceferino and Zoilo became lawyers. Both have been elected at one time or another to represent Pampanga in the Philippine Legislature. Both have served as Judges of the Court of First Instance. Ceferino Hilario died in 1947. Zoilo J. Hilario is still a Judge at Tarlac. Filomena married a lawyer, the late Conrado Gwekoh of Magalang, Pampanga.

[123] *Op. Cit.*

Tiburcio Hilario obtained all the positions he held by sheer merit. At the house of the late Don Monico Mercado in Guagua, Pampanga, President Aguinaldo once said that during his administration positions in the government were given to the men best qualified for them, whether they were personally known to him or not. The many appointments given to Tiburcio Hilario are a proof of this.[124]

In these days of false moral values, when integrity and a deep concern for the public welfare often are a rarity, the life of Tiburcio Hilario and of many other revolutionists who served the cause of freedom unselfishly should be to the present and future generations of Filipinos, a source of renewed inspiration and a constant reminder of the days when their forefathers tried to build strong and secure the foundations of their Republic.

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[124] This was told by President Aguinaldo to Tiburcio's son, Zoilo J. Hilario.

THE BEGINNINGS OF QUEZON CITY

By Pio Pedrosa

I deeply appreciate the honor of having been asked to participate in this program tonight. I have thought that among the reminiscences I have of President Quezon, the initial days of the organization of Quezon City is worth recalling.

The year was 1939. I was financial assistant in the office of the President. Meralco's Emilio Abello, later to become Executive Secretary and then Minister and still later Ambassador to Washington, D. C., was legal assistant. A young lawyer, Felino Neri, later Ambassador to Japan, was my assistant in the allocation of export quotas under the Tydings-McDuffie Act. Far Eastern University's President Teodoro Evangelista was foreign affairs assistant; Dr. Mariano Icasiano, health assistant; and Professor Lino Castillejo, administrative assistant. Our over-all headman was the "Little President," Secretary Jorge B. Vargas. His right-hand man was Dean Conrado Benitez, later the only City Councilor reelectionist of the Citizens Council for Good Government of Quezon City.

The proposed national capitol of the Philippines had, as long as any one could remember, been planned to be erected on Wallace Field. The huge edifice was to face the Rizal Monument and the Bay beyond Burnham Green. It was to be flanked at its back and right and left sides, along Taft Avenue, and P. Burgos and San Luis Streets, by five executive department buildings, all of the same plan and design, and standing side by side in a semicircle. Only two of them, the Finance and the Agriculture buildings, had been constructed when the stop order was given. The capitol was to be moved elsewhere.

Rumor had it that someone was said to have whispered to President Quezon that Wallace Field was not a good site for the national capitol building. In case of war, it was said, and the defenses at Corregidor should be unavailing, and enemy battleships should succeed in entering Manila Bay as did Admiral

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* Talk given at the Quezon Night Dinner Program, Philippine Columbian Association Clubhouse, 7:30 p.m., August 19, 1964.

Dewey, Wallace Field would be the easiest target of naval bombardment.

I believe this was specious.

The real motive, as President Quezon himself later expressed it, was to have a capital city that, "politically shall be the seat of the National Government; aesthetically, the show-place of the nation — place that thousands of people will come to visit as an epitome of the culture and the spirit of the country; socially, a dignified concentration of human life, aspirations, endeavors and achievements; and economically, as a productive self-contained community." Physically, it was desired that the nation's capital should be a beautiful, placid and sedate metropolis, criss-crossed by wide, tree-lined and side-walk-bordered avenues and boulevards, where the public buildings and the residential areas would be interpersed between and inside public parks, and which would, as much as possible, be free of the noises and hurlyburly of commercial and industrial traffic.

It was also observed that world capitals had served, in the course of time, to encourage accelerated development of their surrounding hinterlands. Then, as in the cases of Australia, Brazil, Turkey, and others, national capitals had been moved from time to time, from place to place, as a magnet to attract developmental enterprise into the surrounding areas of their new locations. It was for these reasons, it was said, that President Quezon had been in constant consultation with friends about the advisability of converting either Baguio, Tagaytay, or Dansalan in Lanao to become the capital city of the Philippines.

It would seem that the area now occupied by Quezon City offered the compromise solution. It was near enough to Manila to overcome the disadvantages of distance of Baguio, Dansalan or Tagaytay, and wide enough to permit the development of an urban area along the lines dreamed of by the President. He wanted a capital city something like Washington, D. C., or New Delhi, or Mexico City.

The elliptical circle where the unfinished Quezon Monument stands was originally planned as the new site of the national capitol building. As a matter of fact, the foundations of that proposed edifice had been sunk when the last war broke out. Later, even that area — although I think it was no longer the so-called military strategy reason that motivated the move, — was not considered a good enough site for the national capitol building. It was abandoned after the Liberation for the site near La Mesa reservoir. The transfer of the capitol site from Wallace to Diliman, if it had truly been planned on the basis of naval strategy, did not take into consideration the range of sea artillery and much less the potentialities of aerial, and nowadays of missile, warfare.

May I mention, parenthetically, that this elliptical circle is today undergoing improvements under the joint auspices of the Quezon Memorial Park Beautification Committee, the Quezon Monument National Committee, and the Quezon City Mayor's Executive Committee. The cost is up to now being defrayed from voluntary contributions received from civic-spirited citizens and organizations appreciative of the great legacy that President Quezon left to the nation.

One night, about the end of October, 1939, my phone in the Malacañang Executive Office rang. I was to go up to the Palace. I went up and came upon a gathering of people at the porch overlooking the Pasig. The big shots at the time, as well as the "Casiana" cronies of the President were there. Don Alejandro Roces, Mr. Jacob Rosenthal, Don Jose Paez, Health Director Eusebio D. Aguilar, Public Works Director Vicente Fragante, Mayor Tomas Morato of Calauag, and of course Mr. Vargas, Justice Abad Santos, Speaker Yulo, Mr. A. D. Williams, Mr. Abello, Dr. Icasiano, Mr. Evangelista, Professor Castillejo, Dean Benitez, Civil Service Commissioner Gil, and others of the Malacañang staff there.

My diffidence at getting into this crowd was not improved at all, when upon approaching it, Mr. Vargas said: "Mr. President, here is Pedrosa."

The President looked at me from under those unstable eyebrows of his and he said: "Oh, Pedrosa, you are treasurer. Jake here is the assessor. You teach him how to assess." He was referring to Mr. Rosenthal.

I nodded my head for not knowing what to say. Then I sat near Mr. Abello and whispered to him what I was treasurer of. Abello whispered back: "Ano ka?" he said. "You are treasurer of Quezon City!"

It turned out that a more or less permanent and regular set of officials was being organized to man the new city government. The law creating the city had been signed earlier that month, on the 12th, I think. There had been some trouble over the naming of the new city. The President did not want it named after him. But the National Assembly had passed the bill with that name. I whispered to Abello if he was going to be anything in the new city. "Why," Abello said, "don't you know? You are now talking to the City Attorney." I said, "Oh! And who is our Mayor?" He answered, "Morato, that one!" pointing to a florid Spanish gentleman, and "Don Vicente, there, is the Vice Mayor," he added, referring to Director Fragante.

I knew Mayor Morato by hearsay. He, it was said, who, during a visit of President Quezon to Calauag, and while the President was strolling on the main street of the town, had been telling the President that sanitary conditions in the town had been improved, that there were no more pigs on the loose, after he became mayor. Right at that very moment, a mother pig, followed by a litter of nine small pigs, very sedately emerged from one side of the street and went across right in front of the strolling President, and entered under a house on the other side.

"Look, Fabella!" the President called Health and Welfare Commissioner Dr. Jose Fabella who was with him, "Tommy says there are no more pigs on the loose in this town." Dr. Fabella laughed, to the great discomfiture and unspeakable annoyance of the Mayor. Mayor Morato forthwith had the pig-catching squad with their large rope-net out, and got the mother pig and her litter, impounded.

The Mayor's embarrassment before the President and the Health and Welfare Commissioner was nothing, however, compared to what followed. Upon reaching his house, word was given Mayor Morato that his father-in-law, who, it turned out, was the owner of the mother pig, was demanding that the pig and the piglets be returned to him, or else . . . The poor Mayor himself had to pay the fine he had asked his municipal council to promulgate, and had the pigs returned to his father-in-law.

Mayor Morato thus became our Quezon City Mayor. He presided over the City Council, with Mr. A. D. Williams as City Council Secretary. Don Alejandro Roces, Mr. Paez and Dr. Aguilar were sworn in as city councilors. The Vice Mayor, the City Attorney, the City Engineer, the City Health Officer, the City Assessor and the City Treasurer were ex-officio members.

As the President had intimated, Mr. Jake Rosenthal, whose previous experience was that of shoe manufacturing in Paco, became the City Assessor. Dr. Icasiano was named City Health Officer. Judge Perfecto Palacio became Judge of the City Court. By the way, a U. S. Army Lieutenant Colonel who was senior assistant to General Douglas MacArthur as Field Marshall of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, and who was sharing the east room of the first floor in the Executive Building with Mr. A. D. Williams, as presidential adviser on public works, and myself, as financial assistant, barely escaped that night being designated the first Quezon City chief of police. His tour of duty in the Philippines had ended and he was being transferred back home. His name was Ike Eisenhower.

Mr. Manuel Diaz, — now a retired gentleman from the Sta. Clara Lumber, — was later named the City Engineer to take over the office that had been temporarily run by Don Vicente Fragante. But, whether the officially designated city engineer was Mr. Fragante or Mr. Diaz, the real engineer and city planner who roamed around the grass and talahib lands of the new City with President Quezon and Mayor Morato, beginning four o'clock every morning after they would have had their coffee in Malacañang prepared by Mayor Morato, was Don Alejandro Roces.

Because of my new duties as Quezon City treasurer in addition to my work in Malacañang, my working hours had to be split between the two places. I was, therefore, in Quezon City from 7:00 to 10:00 in the morning and again from 3:00 to 6:00 in the afternoon. I had to time my working hours in Malacañang to coincide with those of Mr. Vargas so I was in the Executive Building from 10:00 a.m. to 1:30 or 2:00 p.m., and from 6:30 to 10:00 at night, those being the working hours of the Secretary to the President. Besides, the President would now and then stroll into the executive offices between 9:00 and 10:00 o'clock from a walk he used to take in the Malacañang grounds, and one felt immensely rewarded if he was but seen by the President still on the job at that hour.

The work was heavy, the work hours, were harrowing, but I was very proud of my added duties. As a matter of fact, before the war, one was proud of holding a position in the public service. One was respected and public office was highly respectable. No one was apologetic for being in the government service. Nor was his integrity and character so easily besmirched.

I had hardly sat one morning about 7:00 o'clock at my desk in the Quezon City Hall, when our offices had already assumed a certain degree of settled routine some six months after its organization, when the telephone rang. It was the Malacañang switchboard and the operator said the President wanted to talk to me. I was wondering why he should want to talk to me, and so early in the morning. Then over the wire the President's voice sang out. "Pedrosa!" he called. I answered with alacrity and rather profusely: "Yes, sir, good morning, sir." My heart was thumping. "Will you come right away!" he said. I answered, "Yes sir." And he hung up.

By the way as I remember it now, I had only two telephone calls made to me by the President during the time I worked in the President's office. The other was to warn me against allowing newsmen, one of them Ernie del Rosario, from having a free run in an investigation I was conducting at the time of certain irregularities in Cavite that tended to implicate the Governor of the province. He frowned very darkly upon trials of public officers by newspaper publicity.

I took my car and drove forthwith to Malacañang. I am sure I was paying little attention to my driving as I was trying to recall carefully all that I might have done, and I was analyzing what boner I might have committed, to have been summoned that early.

The President was on the west porch of the Palace, and with him were Speaker Yulo, Secretary Abad Santos and Secretary Vargas. "Come, Pedrosa, have your breakfast," said the President. "Thank you, sir," I answered, I have had my breakfast." "Well, sit down," he said, and motioned to a waiter to give me coffee. Without any further preliminaries, he said: "What is this I hear you are offering ten centavos per square meter for the properties to be cut by the Aurora Boulevard extension?"

"Mr. President," I said, "that is twice the price at which we bought the Peoples' Homesite, and five times the assessment for tax purposes the land has." The Aurora Boulevard extension referred to was a break-through from Santa Mesa crossing Broadway and Gilmore in New Manila, (there was no Pacific Avenue as yet) and merging with N. Domingo and its extension to Marikina a little before where the Aurora Boulevard now intersects first with España Extension and a block further up with Highway 54 or Epifanio de los Santos Avenue. The area affected was part of the Magdalena Estate several sections of which had been converted into subdivisions. The subdivision lots were being sold at from P2.00 to P5.00 per square meter.

I had been having stormy meetings with the various lot owners in the subdivision the new Aurora Boulevard extension was cutting, because of the obviously low price per square meter I was able to offer compared with the purchase price the subdivision lot owners had paid the Magdalena Estate for their lots. In one of those meetings, Mr. Jesus Dineros of Insular Life was the principal spokesman. "We are not asking for a profit," he was saying. "Just pay us the same amount as that which we have paid the Magdalena Estate."

"That may be so," said the President, "but where have you heard of subdivision lots in that section being sold at ten centavos?" I answered that in expropriations of private property for public uses we were limited by law to paying a price equal to the assessed valuation for tax purposes regardless of commercial value. I was offering more, much more than the assessment of the properties involved. I said the assessment was at two centavos per square meter. "They have not been reassessed since 1902," I continued, "and that 1902 assessment classifies these properties as 'inculto', or as 'zacatal'. In the latter case the assessment is three centavos per square meter."

"Is that what it is?" the President asked, and his eyebrows were beginning to go up and down. "Do you mean to say that Doña Magdalena has been paying all these years taxes on an assessment of two centavos per square meter and selling the same property at two to five pesos per square meter?"

"It amounts to that," I lamely answered.

"Joe," he said, addressing the Speaker of the then unicameral National Assembly, "I want you to pass a law which shall declare that in expropriation proceedings the assessed valuation of property shall be prima facie evidence of its commercial value." That was the romance and the birth of Commonwealth Act No. 520. Secretary Joe Abad, as he was often called, to distinguish him from Joe Yulo, offered to help me so that the lot owners affected could be reimbursed the price they had paid for their lots.

But this is advancing the story. I must tell you that of our first police force.

One late afternoon, about 6:00 o'clock, when our City was only three or four days old, I was preparing to leave Quezon City for Malacañang. We had taken the old dilapidated building of the Afable family which had housed the former Manila City Hospital as our City Hall. Behind the main building was an equally dilapidated wooden structure that had served as the former hospital's nurses' home. We had no thought of using it.

Please remember that all around then was grassland, mostly cogon. In many places talahib was luxuriant. I had about twenty-five carpenters, masons, electricians and plumbers, reconstructing the main building and making it fit for use.

As Mayor Morato and I were standing at the doorway of our impromptu City Hall, there emerged a line of soldiers, thirty of them as I found out later, led by a Constabulary lieutenant, from behind a tall patch of talahib, in the corner of what is now Mrs. Nini Quezon-Avanceña's gasoline station. The June 19th Boulevard, later renamed Highway 54 and recently Epifanio de los Santos Avenue, east of the old N. Domingo Street from San Juan that projected itself into the Marikina road in front of our City Hall, was still being torn by road graders.

The lieutenant saluted my Mayor and introduced himself as 2nd Lieutenant Alfonso Torillo from Camp Crame. Mayor Morato, who until now can hardly understand, and much less speak, English, asked me what the men wanted. I told him they were reporting for duty. "Why?" he asked. I told him we had our brand-new police force of Quezon City together with the temporary Chief of Police, the young Constabulary lieutenant. "What do we do?" he asked, getting tense. I told the lieutenant the Mayor was asking what we were supposed to do. He answered that the men were enlisted Constabulary soldiers and should have barracks. It turned out that barracks meant also beds, blankets, pillows, mosquito nets, and so forth.

We had our telephone line connected that very day. It should be historical fact, if history were also to record the unimportant happenings in life, that the first official call made from our Quezon City Hall over that line was to Gil Puyat of Gonzalo & Sons. He was a kid brother of an old friend of mine in my university days, Deogracias, who was a fraternity fellow in the *Upsilon Sigma Phi*. The telephone call was to ask Gil what the price was of the iron beds displayed in their Rizal Avenue store. He said ₱11.00. I told him to send thirty right away, I was waiting for the truck.

The electrician we had, had already washed himself and was preparing for the supper to be served by the old lady. I told him to extend a light connection to the dilapidated nurses' home building.

That night, when Mayor Morato came back to see what had happened, he found that the soldiers had had their supper, each one had a brand new iron bed with mat, pillow, blanket and mosquito net to match, in place. Some who were not on duty were already preparing to go to sleep; others were reading the "Liwayway."

I have a suspicion that if President Quezon developed a better liking for me later, it must have come from the handling of our original City police force that night. I heard that for his habitually unbounded generosity in praising good work done, Mayor Morato must have annoyed the President telling him again and again, during their coffee hour every morning, what an efficient treasurer he had.

Later, we did begin to recruit our regular police force and were able to dispense with the Constabulary detail assigned to us. Former Governor Sabino de Leon of Bataan, an ex-Army Captain, became our regular Chief of Police. A few months afterwards, Mayor Morato had to be absent a few weeks to attend to his private interests in Tayabas. As the senior department head in the City administration, and as Vice Mayor Fragante was also not available, I had to serve as Acting Mayor. It coincided that Chief of Police Sabino de Leon was holding a kind of police seminar. On the last day they had a program at which the Acting Mayor was the guest speaker. Our City was beginning to have a few residences built here and there, along the new streets and avenues that under the indefatigable and driving supervision of Don Alejandro Roces had been laid and asphalted. Of course the old streets like España Extension and N. Domingo were already well built up.

Since I was talking to police and security officers, I thought that the effectiveness and reliability to the inhabitants of the City of our new police system could be gauged even by the manner the new residential houses were being designed and built. I called attention to the City of Manila residences. No matter how beautiful, regardless of the district where built, and irrespective of the cost of construction, an inevitable feature of the architectural design of every house in Manila was the iron and steel barred doors and windows.

The bars may be in any artistically conceived motif. The poorer houses have to satisfy themselves with tangili two-by-twos. Homes are thus converted into small Bilibid prisons, with this difference: the bars of our home prisons are not for keeping criminals in; they are, we always hope every night we go to bed, for keeping criminals out. Our Manila dwellings have had to be barred because we have no confidence in the efficacy of our police services, in protecting us, our properties, our lives, our honor, in the supposed sanctity and security of our homes. I appealed to our police seminar if by their dedication and devotion to duty it might be possible to develop a door and window design for the new homes in Quezon City that need not be fitted with steel grills and bars. I thought that that was one of the hopes and dreams of President Quezon in having a new capital and residential city built separate and independent of the City of Manila.

A few nights later, I do not know by what grapevine communications system the message had reached the old man, he stopped by my desk in the Executive Building coming in from one of his nightly walks in the Malacañang grounds. I stood up, he looked at me with that penetrating gaze coming from under the shaggy eyebrows, and said: "Pedrosa, that was a good talk about the iron grills on residential doors and windows." I thanked him. He went on towards Secretary Vargas' office. I did not walk on solid ground that night.

Thank you.

THE LESSONS OF HISTORY *

By John A. Hamilton

It is no paradox to say that the study of the past is the key to the future. And no matter how great our apparent preoccupation with the past, our real concern is the future, I think. Man's progress, or if you are suspicious of that term and I am, at least now and again, his adaptation to changing conditions, is guided by the lessons he draws from past experience. It is the gift of tradition, to use the word in its largest sense, the wisdom handed down from generation to generation by oral and written communication, that gives man dominance over the other animals of our planet.

This ability to build for the future on the lessons of the past is the basis of all our intellectual disciplines, historians have no monopoly. But historians are called on to take a wider view of all the area's of man's activity than any other interpreters of the past, I think. Moreover, we live in an age when perhaps the most significant sphere of man's activity is his social and political organization, significant because crucial. What recks it that man has solved the riddle of the atom, unlocking vast stores of energy to do his work, if at the same time he fails to understand and control his political organizations, if he allows prejudice and envy to take command of his institutions? Perhaps it is my professional concern with international relation for the last twenty years which colors my thinking, but it does seem to me that today man has no more pressing problem than the establishment of a basis for peaceful cohabitation of the globe.

It is therefore a great honor for me to speak to you historians, because as much as anyone you hold the key to our problem. We must build on the past, on the many failures and the few successes of cooperation and mutual tolerance between nations if we are to arrive at a viable future. And what you decide to say about the past will have a decisive influence on how we face the challenges of the future. Whether you are a writer or a leader, we are your pupils. You are the agents of change, of revolution. The values you find in the record of the past become our guides.

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* Delivered at the annual national conference of the Philippine Historical Association on November 30, 1964. Dr. Hamilton is cultural officer of the American Embassy in the Philippines.

All teachers have a heavy responsibility, but this is especially true of the historians. History is not an exact science, and to call it a social science is essentially a fraud, history is an art. To call it art means that we recognize that the historians reflects in his work his conception of the world — its physical and social structure, its moral values, its aesthetic and its metaphysics. This historian undertakes to interpret the record of the past. By selecting events and facts, by interpreting motives, by pairing off causes and effects, he gives his meaning and the meaning of his time and his environment to the chronicle of man.

Certainly it is not necessary for me to insist to this gathering on the problems which confront us in our time, you know them as well as I: the overemphasized menace of atomic weapons, the demand by people in traditional societies for the fruits of industrialization — the so-called revolution of rising expectations — the hope for a more abundant life, the underemphasized population explosion which makes a mockery of the search for a more abundant life and arises the specter of famine, and the increasing danger from the dark side of human nature as the world becomes more crowded and the clashes between rival power drives become more frequent and less easy to divert into new territory. Indeed, to me, the only frightening thing about our times is human nature — I am sure that one way or another we can lick the physical problems, but I am not sure we can avoid the catastrophes of human rivalry.

Certainly the past shows that the welfare of man has suffered time and again profound and prolonged setbacks. I have read that the power struggle was what destroyed the great irrigation system of the Tigris-Euphrates valley, the first site of human civilization so far as we know today. The early cities, UR, Babylon and the others, built up intricate controls over the life-giving waters of their rivers and made the desert bloom. So long as they vied in constructive ways, each expanding its productive capacity, they brought wealth and culture to themselves. But when the rivalry became destructive, when each city tried to deprive its rivals of water by diverting it from the enemy's territory, the system was wrecked beyond repair, the cities starved and dwindled away.

This destructive rivalry has weakened many great cultures so that they became the easy prey of barbarians from beyond their borders. Today with the advances in communications, transportation and the other world-shrinking development's such as longer and longer range weapons, there are no external barbarians, they are in our midst and indeed in our hearts. All of us must learn the lessons of the past. You have heard many times that those who do not learn from history are doomed to repeat it. This time we dare not run that risk. Our historians must help us learn those lessons well.

Unfortunately it is true that most history written up until now has been blindly, naively partisan. Most national histories see the world in black and white, justifying the policies and actions of one government, perhaps not always the domestic policies but always the foreign, and boldly laying bare the crimes and injustices of the enemy. The ally in one war may be the enemy in the next, but this merely proves the perfidy of others. To some extent this sort of history is going to continue to be written in this age of new nationalisms. Until a government, a people, is sure of its unity and common loyalty to certain principles, it is going to be reluctant to confess its fault and errors. The nationalism of the Frenchman has been essentially certain since the seventeenth century, he can afford to play variations on the theme — although I must say that the present French government is as chauvinistic as any. Nationalism in the United States has only recently been so completely affirmed that we can begin to relax — the McCarthy episode and the John Birch society today are signs that not everyone has reached a stage of easy acceptance of even minor variants. But I think we have digested all the streams of immigration and achieved a true sense of unity now. Here in the Philippines you have a real basic homogeneity to start with, all your languages and dialects are of the same family and suggest a common cultural heritage which you are in the process of rediscovering. Your speech for a national identity should be rather easy, I think.

But what of political divisions where there is no real common bond, where language, culture, economic patterns, all are dissimilar and sometimes antagonistic. Can India for example, achieve a true nationalism, relaxed and ready o deal fairly with the rest of the world? The bitterness which divides two peoples in tiny Belgium is a warning that cultures do not merge easily.

I think the possible answer for all of us, certainly in international affairs, lies in the philosophy of federalism, a system which is based on mutual forbearance, on compromise. It permits peoples, cultures, nations, to join together for mutual benefit in those pursuits best done in unison, while permitting many areas of life to remain outside the joint effort, areas such as culture, language, religion, custom. I have recently been intimately connected with a venture in federalism, the formation of the European Community. The Europeans were inspired by the successes of the Swiss Conferation and of the United States of America. In Switzerland peoples of five languages and of very different custom have found a way to live together under one government, giving that government only those powers the people deem necessary to conduct those parts of the public business which can not be efficiently done by the cantons. And in the United States the thirteen states turned over to the federal government some of their powers for the same reasons. These two governments have been able to maintain their stability remarkably well. The United States had a civil war and is only now finishing up the business of making its Bill of Rights into a reality, but it has prospered and strong and united. And in Switzerland there are jealousies and disputes along some of the language borders, but the Confederation is secure. And so some European leaders saw the hope that in Confederation their commitment could break the fatal chain of wars of world.

The European Community has already had to face up in at least some small measure to the need for a fair-minded presentation of history. One of the institutions of the Community is called the European School. It was founded to provide education for the children of the secretariat, first of the Coal and Steel Community, with headquarters in Luxemburg, and now for the centers, Brussels, Mol, Paris. This school system is unique in that its work is recognized by the Ministries of Education of the six countries: France, Belgium, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Western Germany and Italy, and also by some other governments, since the children of diplomats accredited to the communities are also allowed to attend. Children take their examinations from national examiners, I believe, to qualify for admission to the universities in their homelands. But in the highly bureaucratized world of European education, where central ministries of education dictate every detail of education in the whole country, it is a remarkable feat to have got agreement for the existence of this school.

By way of parenthesis, I might mention that there are four official languages in the six countries but the school teaches in only two after the primary grades. For much of the work of the Secretariat English is the language of communication even though not the language of any of the member countries.

Now, the European School teaches history, obviously. But it found no text that would serve its purpose. The nationalities represented in the school have cultivated their differences for centuries, enshrining in their teaching of history the animosities, antagonisms and prejudices which color their view of their neighbors. The school has created its own texts for the teaching of European history, texts which provide the basic facts, with such a fairminded interpretation of them that no nation is offended.

This is a better record than an effort to create a universal history, the one initiated by UNESCO soon after its inception. So far as I know the project is in abeyance and to all intents and purposes abandoned. I think the reason is obvious — in the UNESCO project there are no compelling reasons for agreement on the facts of certain events in the past among peoples each of whom wishes to find national justification for its action. On the other hand, the European School is supported by the European Community, a group of countries which are groping their way towards a real federation, and have already surrendered some of the so-called sovereign powers of their governments to a supra-national body.

While it may well be too early to expect newly-evolved national governments to begin negotiations to surrender any of their powers, it is not too soon for historians to begin thinking of what lessons they can find in the past which will stand man in good stead in the future. And in my opinion, federalism is one of the constructive lessons to be found in past experience, a lesson that can be applied to the resolution of strains and tensions in the future.

There is, as you know, a school of thought which rejects history as essentially untrustworthy. Henry Ford is credited with saying that history is bunk — and perhaps the sort he was taught was just that. And worse than selfish or inept writing. History that is written, or unwritten, cynically and with deliberate misrepresentation of the facts, has taken its toll of our confidence in historians. The most conspicuous example I know is the great Soviet encyclopedia, which has had to add, subtract and modify volumes which had already appeared to keep up with the party line so rapidly that I am under the impression the final volumes have not yet appeared.

The idea that all historians, honest or dishonest, are guilty of bias lies behind the curriculum of St John's College in Annapolis, Maryland, the famous "Hundred Great Books". The assumption here is that no secondary source can be relied on to transmit the great creative ideas of the human race, its most important intellectual achievements. The student must go to the true source, the world of the thinker himself. This is an intriguing notion, but we cannot follow it too far, actually we must have synthesis, we must have the historian. The human record is too long and too various, the contributions of too many minds have gone into the sum of wisdom, for each of us to create his own history of the past. We must have professionals to study and interpret not only how we got to where we stand but what has gone into making us what we are. We must profit from the synthesis of honest and capable teachers. From them, from history we must learn of the successes and failures of the past and find courage and wisdom to face the unpredictable future. It is not what is behind the finger on the trigger, in the mind of the responsible man. Has he learned that hatred, violence, suspicion have only brought sorrow, destruction, retaliation? Has he learned that while vigilance is the price of freedom, trust and tolerance are essential to the future of man? These, it seems to me, are lessons that can be found in the past as readily as those of pride, lust for power, self-righteousness, self-justification.

Here I do not mean to imply that historians must be dedicated to false optimism, looking only on the bright side of a sorry record. Their accounts must be honest, convincing. But they do determine the meaning of the record. I think of such different renderings as the Irish sagas and the historical writings of Toynbee. The Irish relate tales of treachery and bloodshed, dark and terrible, and the meaning comes through that man destroys himself when he destroys his fellows. And Toynbee's account of the rise and fall of civilizations carries the message that change and adaptation are the minimum price for survival. Whether we agree with his analysis of the surge and ebb of civilization we cannot but be impressed by his ideas and we have to take them into account in our effort to find a meaning in history.

The historian has a great obligation to his nation and his people to mark those distinctive values of his culture which make it unique, which make his people in his time different from others, which represent the cultural contribution of his people to the world. He has also a great obligation to the rest of mankind to show how these differences can be accommodated in the world politic without conflict. He must show how his people is not only different but how it is like the rest of mankind, how there is real kinship among all men.

Herbert Spencer has given a most thought-provoking definition of civilization: "Civilization," he says, "is a progress from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity toward a definite, coherent heterogeneity." I think that Spencer believes man started out a pretty much the same animal everywhere—he really is akin. It was as he banded together to solve problems of his livelihood that he developed differences. These differences enrich the world but they endanger it, too, if we forget our common condition.

I hope that you historians realize how important you are to us, how you give us pride in our past and hope for our future, and that you do not forget that the greatest lesson of history is the brotherhood and the interdependence of man.

MANILA WALLS AND THEIR FORTIFICATIONS

By Alexander E. W. Salt and H. O. S. Heistand

From the left bank of the Pasig River, where it empties into Manila Bay, the seashore used to run sharply back up stream for several hundred yards, thus forming between the river and the bay a long narrow tongue of land of triangular form, extending out to sea for a considerable distance.

Much of this point of land has long ago been washed away by the action of the sea waves, so that the land where some of the earliest events in the history of Manila transpire, now lies four fathoms deep and more, but the part that remains today is of sufficient interest, for it is here that the walls of old Manila stand, their apex formed by the castle of Santiago, once the pride of Spain and the terror of her foreign rivals in the Orient.

The value of this point as a defensive position, protected as it is from direct assault on two sides, and commanding as it does, the sea coast for some distance by reason of its salient form, seems to have been recognized from earliest times, for when Martin de Goiti and Juan de Salcedo first cast anchor in Manila Bay in May, 1570, they found a fort there erected by the natives.

In the report of Governor Sande to King Philip II, of Spain, this fort is described as being "made of palm tree logs, surmounting a very narrow mound, while the pieces of artillery protruded from immense gaps through which the soldiers could enter at will."

The artillery in the fort consisted of ten or twelve bronze pieces cast by the natives themselves from instructions gained from the Chinese, and of a few small guns ("lantacas") of Portuguese make.

[*Editor's note:* The following account of the walls and fortifications of "Old Manila" or "Intramuros" was written about 55 years ago. At the time (1910), the senior author was professor in the University of the Philippines, and the junior author was adjutant general of the Philippine division of the United States Army. Their researches were materially assisted by the records and personal aid of C. A. Bauer, then chief of the administrative division of the Manila city engineer's office, by whose courtesy the manuscript came into the possession of the editor of the American Chamber of Commerce Journal, where it was published in its December, 1932, issue. The Bulletin saw it fits to reprint the article here, because of its historical importance and because of the current interest in the restorations of old landmarks all over the Philippines.]

The account of the landing of the Spaniards on the island of Luzon shows how considerations of defense were a powerful factor in leading the Spaniards to found a city at Manila.

After his victory over the pirates at Mamburao, Legaspi decided to conquer Luzon, and sent Martin de Goiti and Captain Juan de Salcedo to reconnoiter the island.

They sailed from Panay on May 1st, 1570, with one hundred and twenty Spaniards and some native auxiliaries, arriving without incident in the Bay of Manila, and anchored in the Pasig River.

The sight of that broad, navigable river, flowing into a magnificent bay, susceptible of easy and sure defence, requiring only the establishment of forts at the narrow outlet, ,between which entering vessels must pass, suggested to them the idea of establishing a city in the vicinity.

The territory which today comprises Manila and its principal suburbs, was ruled over by two rajahs, Rajah Soliman of Manila and his uncle Rajah Lakandola of Tondo, who received Goiti and Salcedo amicably.

A treaty of peace was signed and ratified with the usual 'draught of blood', and the Lakandola family were presumably appeased by promises of rewards and of a permanent remission of tribute. (Foreman in his "History of the Philippine Islands" claims that a decade ago a direct descendant of Lakandola was serving as a waiter in a Manila restaurant. While this story is open to challenge, it is certain that a man of the name of Lakandola, living in Tondo in 1764, obtained leave from the City authorities to establish a bakery.)

The perfidy of the natives was, however, soon shown as Soliman at the head of numerous followers, unexpectedly attacked Salcedo's vessel, being repulsed and put to flight.

Goiti with eighty men immediately took, by assault, a fort which had been erected on the bank of the river, killing in the fight a Portuguese gunner, who was taking part in the defense. The natives, greatly frightened, fled in a hurry, setting fire to the fortifications. Inside the fort were found twelve cannons and some Portuguese petronels. (The petronel was a firearm about the size of a large horse-pistol, fired while the stock rested against the breast.)

During the fight the rajah, Lakandola, had a white flag flying from his house, to show that he was not party to the actions of his nephew.

The Spaniards suffered but slight loss in the engagement and promptly took possession of the native city, which was burned by Goiti's orders.

The victor's settled down to a comparatively uneventful occupation of the captured territory, and on June 24, 1571, Legazpi, who had arrived in the meantime, formally founded the Spanish city of Manila, on the site of the Moro city of the same name.

It seems practically certain that the Spaniards built no fortifications at this time, and not even Legaspi made an attempt to alter the character of the forts, the walls of which consisted merely of bamboo posts and packed earth (the Spanish term "Harigue" for this kind of palisade is still preserved in the barrio of Mayhaligue), and these crude defenses would probably never had been altered, had not the march of events rendered a stronger type of fortification absolutely imperative.

Manila was at this time subject to possible attack from five sources. Portugal, while presumably united to Spain, was not likely to brook a successful rival in Oriental trade; the Moros, pirates both by the nature and experience, were always engaged in marauding expeditions from their southern strong-holds; the natives chafed under unjust treatment; the English had already learnt in the Moluccas of Spanish weakness, and the Chinese and Japanese, as ever, preferred control of commerce, even if it involved fighting, to a state of peaceful subjection.

It was the Chinese who were to be immediate cause of a fortified Manila, as no defensive works were thrown up until the almost successful onslaught of the Chinese pirate, Limahon.

Limahon, having heard from a captured vessel of the wealth of Manila, and the smallness of the Spanish garrison, determined on its conquest, and set out with a fleet of sixty-two heavily armed junks of war.

As he took with him four thousand soldiers and sailors, about two thousand women, and many artisans, tradesmen and laborers of all kinds, besides an enormous quantity of supplies, he intended, evidently, to form a colony of his own, and was confident of victory over the Spaniards.

Chinese commerce through the ports of Amoy and Canton has been flourishing in the islands for two centuries when the Spaniards arrived. The courtesy displayed by Legaspi to a junk shipwrecked off the coast of Mindoro, had made the Chinese merchants ready and willing for traffic between their own country and the Philippines, to the financial advantage of both peoples, but Limahon had no respect for commerce or international relations for Spaniards or Malays, and the lack of communication with Pekin and the inaptitude of the provincial viceroys made unlicensed filibustering an easy and profitable mode of existence.

Francisco de Sande, who succeeded Lavezares as governor, in a letter to King Philip II, dated Manila, June 7, 1576, gives the following minute and graphic account of the attack of the pirates, as it was related to him by Guido de Lavezares and others who took part therein:

"On the way to Manila Limahon met a small Spanish galley despatched by Salcedo from Ilocos to some point in Sinay for provisions. The pirates attacked the galley in small boats, and although the galley was poorly equipped, the crew made a good defense, firing at them with a bronze falcon (small cannon) of 14 quintals (one quintal is equivalent to 100 pounds) which was on board. The falcon was called 'Vigilantib'.

"When Limahon saw that the crew of the galley put up such a strong defense, he bore down upon it with his entire fleet of 62 ships, and by throwing fire bombs, soon burned it.

"The crew threw themselves into the water and were either drowned or massacred by Chinese or natives. The Chinese sacked the galley and placed 'Vigilantib' on one of their own ships.

"A sergeant of Salcedo's detachment, named Saavedra, saw all this and despatched at once a messenger to Salcedo, who sent a virey (small sail boat) with three soldiers to warn Manila, but the pirates stood out to sea to deceive the men in the virey, but later closed in upon it so that the soldiers had to run it aground and leap ashore.

"The pirates did some damages to the virey and went on their way, and the soldiers afterwards reembarked and resumed their voyage to Manila, arriving there after the first assault of the Chinese.

"The corsair also continued his journey, and as intending to attack at dawn, anchored outside the bay (at Mariveles) and sent all his small boats ashore in charge of some captains, in the early part of St. Andrew's Day (November 30).

"The first landing partly was under the command of Sioco, a Japanese who was the second in command, and his column consisted of picked men.

"During this time Limahon remained with the ships; but there were in the boats 700 men, among whom were a few arquebusiers, and many pikemen, besides men armed with battle axes.

"They were clad in steel coats lined with very thick cotton. They had durable bamboo hats, which served as helmets, and carried cutlasses and several daggers in their belts. All were barefoot. Their manner of warfare was to form a squad composed of ten men with battle axes, among whom were placed some arquebusiers, a few of the latter going ahead as skirmishers. One of every ten men carried a banner, fastened to his shoulder and reaching about a foot above his head. There were other larger banners also, so that it appeared as if some important personage was coming.

"The invaders took the shorter route which was safer for in their small boats, and came within half a league of Manila without being seen.

"They did not enter by the river in order not to be espied by the fishermen who are constantly going and coming, and because the bay is very wide at this point, and they would have to force an entrance, which they did not dare to attempt.

(It is significant that every attack ever made on Manila has been made from the land side toward the south, the other sides being defended naturally by water.)

"As soon as they had landed, the pirates began a hurried march along the shore toward the city, dragging their lances. They arrived at the city somewhere between nine and ten o'clock in the morning. The first house attacked was that of Martin de Goiti, who was ill in bed at the time. Some natives had already warned him from the shore, by shouting at the top of their voices that enemies were near, and that the king of Borneo was coming down upon the Castillians. As Goiti knew that this was the season of the north-east trade winds ("brisas") and that it was impossible to come from Borneo, which lies to the southwest, because the wind was dead ahead, he laughed at his followers, telling them that they were drunk.

"Meanwhile, as the advance guard of the squadron was approaching the house, he arose, put on a suit of mail, and took a sword with which to defend himself. It is believed that the Chinese were going on directly toward the governor's palace, guided by the spy whom they had brought with them, for they were stealing along the shore. This would have meant the total destruction of the city and camp, for the royal houses, being at the extreme end of the point of land made by the river and the sea, were without any defense. Every inhabitant of the city was in his own house, and the artillery was lying on the ground dismounted, with the pieces scattered here and there throughout the camp. The point of the island once seized, the Spaniards had no place to fortify themselves.

"Luckily, when the Chinese came marching along the sea coast, Martin de Goiti's wife was looking out of a window facing the sea, with a child's helmet on her head, and she promptly called and beckoned to them, telling them in Castillian that they were dogs, and would all be killed.

"The Chinese heard this and, going across to the house, burned it in a very short time with fine bombs. They also killed some men who had gathered there while Goiti who had been injured by the fire, and wounded by an arquebus shot in one arm, threw himself from a window on account of the flames. A soldier, although the enemy struck at him repeatedly with cutlasses and battle axes, escaped with but a slight wound.

"His wife they robbed of her valuables, and then stabbed in the neck. She managed, however, to escape and, by hiding in the tall grass, saved her life.

"As they were detained some time in this attack, news of the affair reached the city and the house of Governor Lavezares, so that in the meanwhile Captains Velasquez and Chacon, with 80 soldiers were enabled to go to the sea coast, and, from the shelter of the houses facing the beach, to fire well aimed volleys from their arquebuses, whereat a number of the advance guard fell.

"The fire was so fierce that the corsairs retired to the port of Cavite, where they found their chief with all his fleet, and reported that they had been unable to finish the affair or to accomplish more, for the Castillians were a brave people.

"After the flight of the Chinese, a Chinese merchant, who was in the city, by the name of Sinsay, called upon the governor, and advised the Spaniards to fortify the city and to remove the straw from the roofs of the houses so that they could not be fired, which advice was at once acted upon.

"Meanwhile, Limahon's troops had agreed to rest one day and return in the morning of the third day with the entire fleet.

"On Tuesday, November 31, 1574, (according to the calendar of that period), the captains began the fortifications making with boards, stakes, and boxes and barrels filled with sand, a palisade from the river to the sea.

"The next day, Wednesday, at noon, the three soldiers of the virey, previously mentioned, came to warn the people, and at nightfall, Juan de Salcedo, who had been stationed in Ilocos with fifty soldiers, arrived. That night he and his men assisted in the work of the fortifications.

"The next day at four o'clock in the morning, the whole Chinese fleet appeared in front of the city, in the form of a great crescent, so that they might be there before daybreak, and three salutes were fired from their guns. At dawn they lowered in the small boats, finally disembarking near the burnt house of Martin de Goiti. Limahon also landed but did not fight, remaining there seated in a chair. He divided his soldiers, numbering about one thousand men, into three bodies.

"Part of them he sent through the principal streets of the city, part along the beach, while other marched along the river bank.

"They were allowed to land, which was a great mistake as all along the shore the land was covered with grass high enough to form a fine ambuscade for the arquebusiers.

"The pirates at once went straight to the fort and assailed it vigorously on two sides. They encountered a strong resistance from the river side and its front, and some of them were entrusted to a sergeant named Sancho Ortiz de Agurto. He went down to the shore leaving the post where he was stationed, to find out from what quarter the Chinese were coming.

"His mistake in leaving the palisade caused the Chinese to find there the least resistance and about eighty entered the fort at that point. The Spanish soldiers attacked them immediately with lance and arquebus, killing them all. This result was aided by a similar resistance experienced by the attacking force in the other parts of fort which forced them all to commence a retreat.

"On this same day, the Augustinian church, the church of the city, a galley about to sail to Mindanao, which was grounded near the river, and an old ship were burnt. Three Spaniards were killed and several wounded, and more than two hundred Chinese killed or wounded.

"Great damage was also caused by a fire, for a bomb fell upon some powder, which exploded, and caused the death of several men.

"Limahon tried to force his men to remain, but was unsuccessful; so he retired, embarked in his boats, and set sail with his vessels for the port of Cavite.

"It is thought that allowing the Chinese to embark on their retreat without hindrance was a mistake. Some of the Spaniards did indeed attempt to prevent them, but the corsair, fearing that this might happen, sent some boats by sea to the river, so that the Spaniards should continue their guard, and not hinder embarkation, and might believe that those in the boats were reinforcement, sent to attack them from the rear.

"When the Moro natives of the city saw what took place on the first day, thinking that the Chinese were victorious, they all revelled and in a short space of time, there gather round the city of Manila more than ten thousand in their little boats, ready to obey the command of the corsair. Wherever friars were stationed in the provinces, the Moros captured and insulted them, threatening them with death, robbing them of everything, and defiling the churches. Spanish soldiers said that they did not leave the fort to prevent the departure of the corsairs, because the Moros surrounded them on all sides.

"When the Moros knew that the Sangleyes had gone, they again became submissive and apologized for their revolt.

"The artillery was badly mounted, and there were no competent gunners. If the Spaniards had had sufficient artillery it would have proved very effective.

"Limahon by the next day had departed to Ilocos whence he came, having determined to establish himself in the Province of Pangasinan.

Here then, is an account of the building of the first wall by Spaniards at Manila, and of the attack made upon it. The account of Sande goes on to tell of the expedition sent to Pangasinan to attack Limahon in his stronghold there, and further says: "During the preparation for the expedition, in order to leave the city in security, they constructed a fort. It is now finished, and was made by the natives, the wood being paid for at the expense of your majesty."

Sande goes on to describe the first fort as "a palisade joined with keys, along the shore and across the river; and a cavalier (a 'cavalier' is a defensive work rising above the main rampart) for defense, where some artillery is to be mounted."

As Manila was a growing colony, and was every day increasing in importance, this fort soon proved insufficient. Sande, therefore, decided to make further defenses, and in a report to King Philip II he describes them briefly. His description follows: "I have surrounded the city with a rampart and palisade, building therein two cavaliers, which are further strengthened by ramparts; one toward the southeast, where the pirates landed, and the other toward the northwest. It seemed to me very important to guard the point formed by the river and the sea.

"People declare that after Miguel Lopez de Legaspi came here the water wore away the land for a distance of two gun shots.

"I have had all the river staked in, as also the point by the sea, and have had the latter filled in with earth, until it is all level.

"I have had the fort of this city repaired, building ramparts where they were lacking, so that one may walk around it on the rampart.

"I have covered the two cavaliers, so that communication may be had between them at a pike's length, which could not be done before.

"The floors have been covered with wood, so that the pieces of artillery may be dragged about more easily.

"I have constructed many chests both for the interior of the fort and for the galleys, and have mounted all the guns here."

These defenses stood for over ten years, when the rapid growth of the colony necessitated still further changes.

The next governor to busy himself with the fortifications was Santiago de Vera, who upon his arrival inspected them and at once pronounced them inadequate. He outlined his plans for their improvement in a letter addressed to King Philip II, dated Manila, June 26, 1587. The portion of this letter which relates to fortification is here given:

"Where the river enters the sea, the land forms a point upon which is built a very small and dilapidated wooden fort. Neither on the sea coast nor in any other part is there any defense.

"On this account, in view of our danger, I have resolved to set about fortifying the city, although the poverty of the city and of your royal treasury cannot assist me. I have constructed a stone tower on the beach, near the city, and lower down, where it seems more necessary, I am constructing a very strong and handsome fort, the plan of which accompanies this letter."

(This first stone fort built at Manila, was designed by, and erected under the supervision of Father Antonio Sedeño, of the Company of Jesus, probably about 1584. It was erected at the point where the present bastion of San Diego now stands, and was named "Nuestra Señora de Guia"

—"Our Lady of Guidance"—, being later converted by Governor Pedro de Acuña into the form of a bastion. It is possible that a foundry was established in the fort at the same time and small cannon cast there under the direction of a native of Pampanga, by the name of Pandapira.)

Governor Vera continues:

"In three months, while we have worked on it, I have made the first story, where the heaviest artillery is to be placed, ready for flooring.

"God helping, I shall, I believe, finish it in a little more than one year from now.

"From this fort and beach near the Sea, I have dug a deep ditch, thirty-four feet wide, which fills up with the incoming tide, and even at low tide has sufficient water to flat several vessels, which are used in carrying materials by this ditch to the said works, and for other important things. The ditch extends from the sea to the river, and on that side surrounds the entire city in such wise that the latter is an island formed by the sea, river and ditch. In place of the wooden fortress, I am going to build a bulwark to defend the entrance to the river and beach, which will correspond to the tower already built, and the new fortress will defend both sides, the ditch and the sea.

"Along the river, I have ordered stone breastworks to be built, extending from the old wooden fortress on one side where the stone bulwark is to be built, to the ditch on the other side.

"To build the fortress, as I have recounted, I have made a single assessment on the Spanish land owners (encomenderos), in proportion to their natives and incomes, and on the inhabitants who can stand it, of three thousand odd pesos.

"I have also assessed each married native one 'real' and each single native half a 'real', so that the entire sum will amount to eight or nine thousand pesos. With this sum, I think it will be possible to construct the principal fortress, because the materials are cheap. The stone is so suitable, that, when wet, it can be worked like wood, and when dry it is very strong and durable, and is better than brick to resist artillery."

We now see the fortifications of Manila taking on some degree of solidity and permanency, although the city is not yet completely walled in. The two forts which have been erected up to this time are later to form key points for the enciente. ("enciente" — literally "circled" — is the technical term for the principal line of fortification surrounding a position).

Governor de Vera writes further to King Philip on June 26, 1588:

"I have commenced a good stone fort in this city, which will be entirely completed within a year. I have levied taxes for this purpose on citizens and Spanish land owners, the native tributaries have each paid one real, while one per cent have been collected for two years on the bullion brought from New Spain. I am sending your Majesty the sketch and model of this fort; it is the strongest which has been built in the Indies, although it is not of modern style, as it had to be built to meet local conditions. It is round in shape, and high and covered over, so as to be more capacious, and protect the soldiers from the heat.

"The stone for most of the rampart is so suitable in quality, that, whenever a ball strikes it, the wall remains unhurt, nor is any other damage done. There is no fear that an attack by a battery will do as much harm as if the stone were hard and resisting. Balls cannot be fired so as to strike, without great difficulty, as the fort is on the shore, and the country is perfectly level. Within there is fresh running water in abundance, and in addition, wherever one digs, excellent drinking water is found.

"It is impossible to undermine the fort, as there is water around it at a distance of one to two verse (2½ to 5 feet) or even less in some places.

"The city is on an island and with other bulwarks and the wooden fort which I have repaired, it would be well defended if we had sufficient troops and ammunition. In the stone fort there are three swivel guns located in the three casemates (a 'casemate' is a bomb-proof arch in the masonry of a fort, with embrasure for guns) of about 2,000 pounds weight; and on the first floor over the ramparts there are seven heavy pieces, extra thick and strong at the breech.

"Two are of about 4,000 pounds weight, three varas (7 feet 6 inches) in length and carry a ball of cast iron weighing 16 pounds.

"Two of the other are of wrought iron of 6,000 pound weight, three and two-thirds varas (9 feet, 8 inches) in length, and carry a ball of cast iron weighing 15 pounds. One cannon is of 5,500 pounds weight, is four and one-third varas (11 feet, 6 inches) in length, and carries a ball of cast iron weighing 14 pounds; one culverin is five and one-half varas (14 feet, 8 inches) in length, weighs 10,125 pounds, and carries a cast iron ball weighing 12 pounds. (The 'culverin' was the largest gun of the 16th century, and sometimes fired a 15 to 20 pound shot with a heavy charge.)

"The fort at the point has one cannon weighing 2,500 pounds, three small cannon, or sakers, weighing 2,200 pounds and a demi-saker weighing 1,300 pounds, the last with its appurtenances, being 4 varas (10 feet, 8 inches) in length.

"The cavalier of the beach has a piece, extra thick and strong at the breech, of 4,000 pounds weight, which carries a ball weighing 15 pounds; and one demi-saker of 1,300 pounds weight.

"At the river there is a large swivel gun with cross bars, weighing 3,000 pounds, one cannon weighing 2,600 pounds, one saker weighing 1,300 or 1,400 pounds, and esmeriles weighing 4,000 or 5,000 pounds.

"For the stone fort to be provided with artillery, according to its plan and embrasures, it is necessary to have twenty-five pieces, three of them heavy, and twelve sakers and demi-sakers. The cavalier of the beach needs five pieces, two of them heavy, and three sakers."

Governor de Vera asked for a garrison of two hundred regular soldiers for the forts which he had constructed. He was evidently strongly impressed with the importance of fortifying Manila in such a manner as to render it secure, and no doubt the need was urgent, for the Spaniards in the Philippines in those days had many causes for alarm.

About this time a great earthquake visited Manila, and did some damage to the works already erected. De Vera writes of this, and of his further plans for improving the forts on June 13, 1589:

"The fort which, as I had written to your Majesty, was being built, was shaken, when about completed, in three places by great earthquakes.

"It opened in one place more than a finger's breadth, although less in the others. To assure its safety, and to construct it in the modern style, although it was quite sufficiently strong before, I am building cavaliers which are to serve as buttresses for it. The principal parts are commenced, and, God helping, will soon be completed. These will make it so capacious and strong that it can withstand any attack."

The forts built by de Vera, though no doubt secure against any but a determined attack with artillery by a civilized power, were nevertheless unsatisfactory, as is shown by later reports on them.

It must be remembered, however, that there was no regular engineer in charge of this work, and although de Vera and those in charge did the best they could, it was but natural that mistakes should be made.

Gaspar de Ayala succeeded de Vera, and at once inspected the fortifications, reporting briefly upon them to King Philip in a letter written from Manila on July 15, 1589.

"The fort which is being built of stone, has been fractured in some places, from its great weight. They say that this is caused by the small amount of cement used, and because it is near the water, and built in a round shape. It seemed as if it could be made secure by building three buttresses with three cavaliers, and this is now being done. If the cavaliers had been built at first, much money could have been saved; but, as there are no engineers here, they have done the best they could; although several captains say that they gave warning at the beginning of the work.

"For this there has been collected a little more than 4,000 pesos from certain duties which used to be paid to your Majesty on the money brought from New Spain. Later, collections were made of one real (eight reales went to a peso) from each of the native, thus raising another 12,000 pesos, more or less. Now another tax of one real has been levied on the natives who are oppressed by it; but as your royal treasury is so poor everything must be borne."

In August of the same year, King Philip appointed Gomez Perez Dasmariñas governor-general of the Philippines, and sent him a long letter of instruction to govern his actions on arrival at Manila. The portion of the letter relating to the fortifications is as follows:

"Immediately upon your arrival at the said islands you shall give orders to enclose the city of Manila with stone, along the portion where it is necessary and advisable, and on the other side — with water. You shall construct a fort in the place assigned and deemed best there. You shall erect a tower at the junction and point made by the river and the sea. All this shall be very thorougly done, with the most careful planning and consideration, and at the least possible expense to my treasury; since, as you know, building can be constructed with great ease and cheapness."

This decree is important, for it gives the order to make the city a walled town, completely secure from attack from any quarter and the outline of the enciente which was erected as a result of this is almost exactly the same as that of the walls as they stand today. One point of regard to the erection of walls under Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, which is worthy of remark, is that, for the first time in the history of the city a regular professional military engineer was in charge of the construction work. From this came a definite result as no further complaint seems to have been forthcoming in regard to the nature of the work, the subsequent changes having been rendered necessary only to meet the advance of military science, and to make necessary repairs.

The name of the engineer sent to direct the building of the walls, was Leonardo Iturriano, or Turriano, and the royal decree ordering him to Manila to report to Governor Dasmariñas is here given:

"Royal decree of Philip II to Leonardo Iturriano.

"The King, Leonardo Iturriano my engineer. Inasmuch as it is desirable for my service that you go to the Philippine Islands with Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, Knight of the order of Santiago, whom I have appointed as my governor and captain-general there, so that the forts may be built according to your advice and design, which, in accordance with the contents of the instruction given to the said Gomez Perez, are to be built in the said islands: I order you to go with him and embark very speedily for the sake of our cause. For that purpose, Don Luis de la Cueva, my governor and captain-general of the Canary Islands, will aide you.

"I have ordered him, and the officials of the royal treasury of the said Philippine Islands to pay you at the rate of 1,000 ducados (about $2,650) per year from the date when you shall show by signed testimony that you have set sail for any port of the said islands, and for as long as you are busied and engaged in the construction of the said forts.

"When the forts are completed, you are to return to these kingdoms with their design and plan.

"Given at San Lorenzo, September 12, 1589. I the King.

"By order of the king of our sovereign:

(Signed) Juan de Ybarra."

On his arrival at Manila in May 1590, Dasmariñas proceeded at once to carry out the king's instructions, meeting, however, with many difficulties and obstacles.

The manner in which he overcome them is best told in his own language. One June 20, 1591, he writes:

"Sire: As there are no funds here belonging to your Majesty, and as the city is very poor and has no established source of income to meet the expenses involved in carrying out the erection of the wall around it — which is absolutely necessary for its protection and safety, because it is quite exposed without it —, an effort must, therefore, be made to find some source of revenue in order that so important an undertaking may not be given up. I have accordingly, in your Majesty's name, granted the merchant's peso ('mercante peso') on Chinese goods for two years.

"The amount of this is thus far unknown, because it has not hitherto been laid. The most profitable source of income is the monopoly of playing cards, which has been established for the benefit of your Majesty's exchequer. I shall apply the proceeds of this to the wall for the present until your Majesty commands otherwise.

'This amounts in one year to 2,500 or 3,000 pesos. I consider that the whole amount is very small, while it is absolutely necessary to fortify this place, which is entirely open and exposed to every sort of danger. Hence, seeing that there is a great quantity of Chinese stuffs here this year, and that there are present a number of merchant from Peru and Mexico who ought to contribute something to the welfare of the city, if for no other reason than the damage they do by raising the price of merchandise with the large amount of money they bring, I have decided this once to levy upon both the citizens and inhabitants of the city and these islands and upon all other who are here, an assessment and contribution of two percent upon the cargo and appraisement of everyone, as appears from the decree of this effect, a copy of which I send you Majesty. All, citizens and other, are satisfied, and are ready to pay the contribution which falls to the shares of each, for they plainly see how just is the request.

"As soon, however, as the bishop and his friars knew of these matter, they called a formal meeting of their theological council, and in it considered whether I had authority to levy assessment, whether I had received orders from your Majesty to that effect or not, and whether I had incurred the censure of the bill concerning the Lord's supper ('De cena Domini'), inasmuch as this was a new impost.

"They resolved, finally, that I had no authority and were on the point of declaring me excommunicated.

"The city was so upset and disturbed by this action that open scandal almost resulted. I shall not now discuss the character of this assessment, for your Majesty will see the justification of imposing it. All I have to say is that this last last trouble is really due to the president and members of the Audiencia, although they know well how necessary and useful the wall is. It was because of the lack of it that the English, when they plundered the 'Santa Ana', were able to get away with their booty so safely. It would have been possible to attack them and to force them to give it up on the Island of Oton (Panay), where they lay at anchor for some days, if it had not been that the president and the auditors were unwilling to run the risk of leaving the city when it had no wall.

(Tomas Cavendish, after burning and plundering the "Santa Ana", on its way from Acapulco to the Philippines, off the California coast, crossed the Pacific ocean and in the early part of February, 1588, attempted to burn another Spanish galleon which was being repaired in the shipyard at Caigon (now Oton), in the island of Panay. His intentions were, however, frustrated by the shipbuilders and calkers at work in the yard.)

"Yet they have joined the bishop in denouncing and attacking this tax, because it affects them. The truth is that they have loaded themselves with cloth and merchandise in such quantity that their share of the tax is likely to amount to something; and, like the good merchants they are, they would be glad to avoid this.

"I do not know of any other rich people here except the president and auditors; and this is the only reason they object to the tax, to which they incorrectly give the name of 'impost'. It certainly is not, for it is assessed once only, and upon such the Peruvians and Mexicans, who are going away and will not be obliged to pay it again, even if it is demanded. It is a great pity, Sire, that the theologians, when they are not invited and ought not to be invited to do so, meddle thus with the matter.

"They certainly have gained the mastery over things here to an extraordinary degree, which is not consistent with exemplary conduct and life in the clergy. From the Bishop down to to the humblest of them, they are so good merchants as the most skilful tradesmen.

"Notwithstanding this opposition, I have gone on with the tax, and all who pay it are very well pleased, except, as I say, the long petticoats, who smart under it.

"I believe it will amount to something, and a statement of its value will be inclosed in this report.

"May our Lord keep the Catholic person of your Majesty for many a long year, as Christianity requires."

Statement of taxes: The duty of appraisals in the present year, when the ordinary three per cent tax is levied, will amount to 13,214 pesos 6 tomins, so that the two per cent tax for building the wall will probably amount to 8,809 pesos 6 tomins." (A "tomin" was part of a "real").

On this document appears the following endorsement, written, it is believed, by Philip himself:

> Everything that has been done in regard to the walls is approved; let this impost and others be continued until the fortification is completed.

We can imagine the satisfaction of Dasmariñas at this complete ratification of his plan and methods, and the effectual quietus thereby placed on those who had stirred up so much trouble for him.

Meanwhile the work on the walls had been going steadily forward, and about a year later than the date of the foregoing forward, and about a year later than the date of the foregoing letter he writes again to the King to report progress:

"Manila, May 31, 1592. The new fort, which will be called Santiago (Dasmariñas' patron saint), is now raised from the level of the ground more than two estados ('estado' — Spanish, the stature or height of a man); and in one ravelin thereof, which is now finished, eight pieces of artillery have been mounted already, and guard is being kept. (A 'ravelin' was a detached work having two faces meeting in a salient angle at the front and open at the rear; it was usually placed in front of a curtain of a work of greater elevation, so as to protect the curtain and the shoulders of adjacent bastions.) By the time this reaches you, God willing, the fort will be finished and perfected.

"All the beach from the fort of Santiago to the fort of Nuestra Señora is now occupied by the curtains and traverses; the latter being very suitable, and two and a half 'estados' in height. (The traverse was a parapet-like earthern mound protecting the rampart of a permanent work.) It needs nothing but the parapet, which is being built. Although the defense already built was called a fort it is not one, nor can it be of any use; for it is but a large tower, badly cemented, and was falling in four places. It was braced by four buttresses which were called cavaliers, and cost your Majesty a large sum, as I have written. Everything is now being built in order to put the fort in good condition.

It is quite evident that Dasmariñas is here referring to the stone fort built by de Vera, on the point between the river and the sea, the fort of Nuestra Señora de Guia, at the other end of the curtain, being regarded as serviceable. In this connection it is to be noted that the Jesuit Father, Antonio Sedeño, who designed the latter fort and superintended its erection, was educated as a military engineer before he became a priest.

In spite of the complete confirmation of his actions by royal decree, it seems that Dasmariñas was subjected to still further annoyance from the friars, for he writes again to the King in a letter dated July 6, 1592, as follows:

"In the building of the wall and fort of this city, the arguments that they (the friars) have urged against me are well known, namely, that this country has no need of the defenses that the natives, to whom the country belongs, do not request them, and that the whole thing results in a labor and oppression." Luckily the governor retained the royal support.

In a letter dated Madrid, January 17, 1593, King Philip writes to Dasmariñas:

You have done very well in applying the proceeds of the merchant's peso on the Chinese merchandise and the monopoly of playing cards to the wall of the city, and although you report that the two percent assessment have been made only once, you shall continue the collection of his duty until the said fortification is finished."

Dasmariñas continues the work, and again reports progress in a letter to the King, dated June 20, 1593:

"Your Majesty will have learned from my letters of the satisfactory completion of the enclosure and fortification of this city, since it is now walled from the new fort on the point along the whole stretch of sea coast, to the round fort of Nuestra Señora de Guia.

"This fort having fallen, not having been properly constructed, so that it was of little or no value, I have reduced it to such a shape that it will be of use by joining it to a defense of cut stone, about as high as the fort, and to a rampart that commands all the country and part of the sea. On the other side I have built another rampart, small and low, for the defense of the principal gate of the city, which has been constructed there under shelter and defense of the projection of the high fortification, so that the fort is now safe and useful. Afterwards, the work will be completed on the other side, I am sending an account of this. From this gate, the wall is being continued along the land side toward the river, as far as its entrance, with the same thickness, height and shape as the other wall, and each with its traverses. The city is now enclosed by sea and land, so that only one small portion fronting on the river is open between it and the fort on the point.

"It has not been enclosed, because that open space is so small, and it fronts on the river between the fort of the point and another cavalier named San Gabriel (a modern bastion of the same name now stands there) which has been built there. As these two are opposite each other, and within easy distance, it is evident that no danger will enter by that place for it is the best guarded and most secure. As also this wall and fort were built at little or no cost to your Majesty, except from the two per cent tax levied once, and from your Majesty's monopoly of the sale of playing cards, I ran so short of funds that I was compelled to leave this bit of the shore uninclosed.

"God be praised, the work in its present condition is so far advanced that no enemy who attacks me can give me any cause for anxiety. Your Majesty may see what has been done since my arrival here by the accompanying plan."

A short memorandum of the same period gives an estimate of the troops required to garrison the walls. The memorandum is unsigned and undated.

"For the guard and defense of this city of Manila we shall need 1,000 men or at the very least 600.

"For the new fort of Foint Santiago, 10 gunners and 20 privates.

"For the cavaliers of Saint Gabriel, 6 privates and 1 corporal."

Another letter from Dasmariñas to the King, dated June 21, 1591, gives a more general account and description of the walls at that time.

"I have surrounded the city with a suitable store wall, that stretches from the point of a fort that is being built (Santiago) to another which was built in a very improper manner, and will only serve now for show. This wall is about 2,000 yards long, and has a foundation below ground about one and a half estados. It is about sixteen feet broad at ground level, while above ground it tapers in another one and a half estados from the sixteen feet to twelve feet.

"From the twelve feet thickness it tapers to about one vara of slope, of one measures from the level of the ground.

"Then begins the right curtain, which has a width of eight feet, a space sufficient to drag a piece of artillery along it. At the very least, it will serve for a good entrenchment on any occasion.

"At present all the seacoast side is in some state of security and suitability. I trust, God helping, that in one year's time, that it will have so much security that it will be seen that it will not be as heretofore; for one would believe that we have been here only as guests, and have only been waiting the arrival of the hour of departure, to leave it as it was when we arrived."

One can imagine the pride with which the Governor surveyed the completed work which he had accomplish in spite of many difficulties. When he arrived Manila was an ill-fortified village; it was now a permanent witness to the natives of Luzon and the adjacent islands that the Spaniards had come to stay.

We now see Manila as a typical walled town of the sixteenth century. The enciente was completed, except for a small portion at the river's edge, which served as a water gate, until it, too, was walled in.

The walls stood as Dasmariñas left them for some time, though his successors did not take the same interest in the fortifications, for they were allowed to fall into a bad state of repair, although so solidly and well were they built, that they were not thereby permanently affected.

Antonio de Morga realized the necessity of constant supervision and, in a lengthy report on conditions in the Philippines, writes from Manila on June 8, 1598, had asserted that it was indispensable that the walls and fort should be always kept in repair and garrisoned."

He continues in a similar strain:

"The artillery is badly mounted, and left exposed to the sun and rain. The caissons (field-carriages) and wheels are rotted and of no use.

"Balls and cartridges are all mixed up, and none of the other supplies are laid out so that they can be used when occasion — much less a sudden emergency — may require."

His fault-finding evidently had some slight effect, as a few changes for the better were made by Governor Tello, who writes to the Council of the Indies from Manila on July 12, 1599.

"I found the powder house in an unsafe place, and, as it is very necessary to guard and preserve the powder, I ordered a vault of stone to be made in the fort on the point, called Santiago, where it was put, so that it is now kept with entire safety."

The seriousness of his work is, however, impeached by the Royal Fiscal in a letter dated Manila, June 21, 1599.

"For three years nothing of importance has been done to the wall, although there are many places which need repairing and finishing."

The walls seem to have remained in this condition until about the middle of 1603, when, during the administration of the Silva, an event occurred which caused much apprehension among the residents of Manila, and aroused the Spaniards to the necessity of putting the walls in the best possible condition to withstand a siege.

The event which was the prime cause of activity with regard to fortifications, was the coming to Manila in March, 1603, of three Chinese Mandarins, who arrived with much pomp and splendor, bringing a large retinue with them.

After claiming that they had come to investigate the truth of a report circulated in China to the effect that there was in Cavite a mountain of gold, they established themselves in Manila, and claimed jurisdiction over the Chinese residents. To this intent they opened a court in which they tried cases and inflicted punishments on their countrymen. As they acted with a great deal of assurance and arrogance, they were finally warned to desist by the authorities, and left Manila. Their stay in the city had, however, created much excitement and distrust, and the natives and Spaniards alike blamed the Chinese for every misunderstanding. The natives went so far as to warn the Chinese residents that in case of an attack they would first slaughter them all; and altogether acted so outrageously, both in public and private, that the Chinese were driven, in pure self defense, to revolt.

The following account of their insurrection was written to King Philip III by the Royal Audiencia in 1603:

"Sire: By way of New Spain this Audiencia informed your Majesty of the occurrences up to that time; and although this letter will be very uncertain, as it must go by way to Portuguese India, it has seemed best to write it in order to give an account of what has happened since, as it is so important.

"By the last letter, dated on the fifth of July of this year, we gave your Majesty an account of three Mandarins from the Kingdom of China, who had come to this city, and the innovation which they had instituted, on account of which the governor and captain-general considered the plan of fortifying this city, and of providing, in case anything should happen, the supplies necessary and suitable for its defense and safety. This caused some disturbance among the Chinese, who began to consider an insurrection. Although great care was taken by this Audiencia and the governor to keep them quiet and to relieve them of the fear which they were said to have on account of the aforesaid precautions, it was not sufficient, and, on the night of the last St. Francis' Day, at about eleven o'clock, they revolted.

"They chose for their leader a Christian Sangley named Juan Untae who, according to the investigations made in regard to him by Audiencia, appears to have revolted in the name of one Juan Bautista, governor of the Chinese.

"They gathered on the other side of the river of this city to the number of ten or twelve thousand, many others remaining in the Parian and fortifying themselves as well as they could (this must have been as long, uncertain a night as that of February 4, 1899).

"On the night of their revolt they burned several houses and the orchard of a citizen of this city, named Captain Esteban de Marquina, killing him, his wife, his four children and several servants.

"They then went to a village Quiapo on the other side of the river, which they burned, killing several native children and women. The governor and captain-general noticing this, and knowing what had happened on proceeding days when there had been a considerable disturbance, notified Luis Dasmariñas, former governor of these islands, who lived in a place called Minondog (Binondo), sending him some troops so that he might keep watch on the enemy. On the next morning he was reenforced by a number of picked soldier-citizens, under Tomas Bravo, and with these went to meet the enemy in the place where they were located, which was quite close to the village of Tondo. The Spaniards sallied thence, but, as it was a country where there were many thickets heavy woods, and mountains, the enemy surrounded them with such a number that they could not retreat; and at last Don Luis was killed, with more than a hundred Spaniards.

"The next Monday, the enemy met, and, after their custom, drew lots; and finding these in their favor and learning from them, that they would take the city, they decided to go to the Parian, and unite with the Chinese who remained there. With great force and impetuosity they attacked this city, in several parts of the wall, with many contrievances which they had brought along to assault it. Those inside defended themselves well, killing many of the Chinese and doing all they could in defense. The Spaniards succeeded in setting fire to the Parian, obliging the enemy to retreat to a some chapel, the erection of which had begun, twenty paces from the wall, named Avocacion de Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, (See Districts and Barrios: Paco) where our men made a sortie to meet them and caused great loss. When the Chinese saw that they could not maintain themselves there, they divided into three bands and went inland, doing much damage.

"An attempt was made to reach them, for which purpose one of the old captains of this city, named Don Luis de Velasco, was sent with a good force of soldiers. He attacked them one morning at dawn and killed more than three hundred. On the same day, when he returned with the intention of doing them more damage, he went so far into the enemy's country that they killed him there with four or five other soldiers and two Franciscan friars.

"The enemy placed and fortified themselves in a very strong place called San Pablo de Los Montes, about fifteen leagues from this city, more or less. They sent to meet them there Captain Christobal de Axqueta, with a hundred Spaniards, and a number of natives of some Japanese. After some skirmishing, he invested and took their fort, killing many of them. Thence he went on the other army which was situated in a place called Vantangas (Batangas), about six leagues from the first. There our men used their utmost effort to overcome them. Finally, both on account of the laudable effort of the captain, since he is one of the best soldiers of his camp, being a veteran and a good warrior, and by the good behavior of the soldiers and the help of the natives, they killed all the enemy without losing a man, which was a very fortunate ending. This was the end of the inicdent, but it has caused much anxiety as to what may be expected from China. On this account the fortifications are being repaired.

"The governor and captain-general is aiding with great pains and diligence, and he will give a longer account to your Majesty and this incident, to which account we refer you."

The letter of the Governor is subjoined. "Governor Pedro Acuña to Philip III:

Manila, Philippine Islands, December 23, 1603.

Sire:

Having written and sealed the document which will go with this on Friday the eve of St. Francis' day of this year, and set there the date of the following day, when someone was to depart to take it, on the same Friday there occurred the insurrection of the Chinese which I shall now recount.

"In the letter of the third of July of this year, which went with the ship which left for New Spain, I wrote to your Majesty that three Mandarins had come to this city from the kingdom of China on the pretense that they wished to investigate a lie which a Sangley who had been here had told to their king, saying that in Cavite there was a great quantity of gold, and that with that and the silver which could be obtained from this kingdom every year his vassals would be entirely relieved of tribute.

"The care which was exercised in this matter, and what occurred to me in regard to it, I wrote to your Majesty in the letter above mentioned. I told you how I was preparing, so that if any thing should happen, I should not be caught unaware; accordingly, as the houses of the Parian were very near to the wall I had several of them demolished, so that this space might be free, I wrote to the magistrates in the vicinity to send me a memorial concerning the natives in the jurisdiction of each one, what weapons they possessed, and how far they might be trusted.

"I had them visit the Sangleyes and see what arms and provisions they had. This visitation was to supply especially to the stone-workers, lime-burners, sawyers, fishermen, and gardeners, as they are to people who resides in the country, for which reason it will be right to exercise more caution in living among them. I wished, also, to have them make arrows, bow, pikes, baqueruelos (possibly the weapon used by a "vaquero" or herdmen), and other articles for the royal warehouses, as it is from them that all military supplies must be provided, I likewise ordered that they should collect, bring together, and transport as many provisions as possible. I was not careless in regard to the walls, but with much diligence repaired what was necessary; and I continued the building of the fort which, as I wrote to your Majesty, was being made on the point, as it was a necessary defense, and the supplies and other articles had to be gathered and guarded there.

"To this end I collected a great number of Sangleyes for the works, and contracted with them to construct a ditch in the part where their Parian and alcaiceria stand, and along the whole front from the river to the sea, as the plan shown which can be flooded with water at high tide from the river. As all the Sangleys had knowledge of this, and there were among them restless vagabonds who had nothing to lose, and who, on account of their crimes, evil life, and debts, could not go back to China without being punished there with much severity, they took this as a pretext to win over the merchants and quiet people, persuading them and the precautions and measures which I was taking were in order to kill them; and since they were so many and we so few, it would be well to be beforehand with us and kill us, and take our lands. When this came to my knowledge, I had them assembled several times, and explained to them the mistake under which they were laboring, and that the Spaniards were not people to harm anyone who did not deserve it. I told them to be calm, and confide in me, and that I would do them no harm if they on their part, give me no reason to do so. It appeared that they were quieted, but the gamblers and worthless people, who were very numerous, incited and persuaded them in such a manner that they made them believe that I and the friendly Spanish merchants, who were with them, were deceiving them. Accordingly, many of those in the Parian withdrew, and went to the other side of the river, as if fleeing from the Spaniards, believing that they wished to kill them. Although this was publicly known eight days before their uprising, and I was aware of it all the time, it was supposed that they were fleeing, our offer, and merely to place themselves in safety. There were left in the Parian about 2,500 Sangleyes who were considered peaceable, and among them five or six hundred Avays who are merchants and people of better conduct than the others, and who gave information of what the others were doing. Although the same effort was made to stir them up, they did not attempt to leave the Parian: for they are a generous and prosperous people, with a liking for trade. The rest assembled at a place about a league from Manila, close to the Monastery of San Francisco del Monte, whereupon followed what is contained in the relation which will go with this, to which I refer you.

"The Audiencia has proceeded against Christian Sangleyes who are implicated in this uprising, and in a few cases justice has been executed, particularly on Juan Bautista de Vera. They have confiscated his goods, which are understood to amount to 15,000 pesos, including the part of them which went this year to New Spain. From the investigation which has been made in this connection, and from what some of those implicated have declared, it is understood that this uprising was instigated from China, and that it was discussed with the Mandarins who were here.

"However that may be, at any rate it is considered quite certain that it was due to the restlessness of worthless people. Undecided as to what to do with the five hundred more Sangleyes who have been kept alive for the galleys, I have continued the fortifications, with the aid of other natives.

"Several bastions have been erected which were still incomplete, and the wall is being made higher in those parts where it is necessary. The laborers are opening trenches and helping in other very necessary works, so that I already have things in good condition, and the fort on the point repaired."

The total number of Chinese who perished in the insurrection is uncertain. Zuñiga asserts that over 28,000 were killed. Argensola claims that the number was even larger. Unfortunately, Antonio de Morga, who was an eyewitness of the events, gives us no information on this point.

Acuña's endeavours removed the pessimism of Antonio de Morga and in 1609 he writes in more cheerful tenor than six years previously.

"The city is completely surrounded with a stone wall which is more than two and a half varas wide, and in places more than three. It has small towers and traverses at intervals. It has a fortress of hewn stone at the point that guards the bar and the river, with a revelin close to the water, on which are mounted some large pieces of artillery. The artillery commands the sea and river, while other pieces are mounted further up to defend the bar, besides some other moderate sized field pieces and swivel guns. These fortifications have their vaults for storing supplies and ammunitions, and a powder magazine, which is well guarded and situated in the inner part, besides a copious well of fresh water. There are also quarters for the soldiers and artilleryman, and those house of the commandant (he is here called the 'alcayde'; elsewhere he is styled the 'castellano').

"The city has been lately fortified on the land side at the Plaza de Armas (parade ground) — (This embraces the present site both of Plaza de Moriones and the open ground between this Plaza and the entrance to Fort Santiago), — where it is entered by a strong wall and two salient towers, defended with artillery, which command the wall and gate. The fortress is called Santiago, and it has a company of thirty soldiers with their officers and eight artillerymen who guard the gate and entrance by watches, all in charge of a commandant who lives inside and has the guard and custody of the fort.

"There is another fortress, also of stone, in the same wall, within culverin range, located at the end of the curtain, which extends along the shore of the bay. It is called Nuestra Señora de Guia and is very large round tower. It has its own court, wall, and quarters inside, as well as magazines and other rooms for work. It has a traverse extending to the beach, on which are mounted a dozen large and moderate sized pieces, which command the bay and sweep the wall, which extends along the shore to the gate and the fort of Santiago. On the other side the fortress has a large salient tower, mounted with four large pieces, which command the shore ahead in the direction of the chapel of Nuestra Señora de Guia. The gate and entrance is within the city and is guarded by a company of twenty soldiers and their officers, six artillerymen and one commandant and his lieutenant, who live inside.

"On the land side, where the wall extends, there is a rampart called San Andres, which mounts six pieces of artillery that command in all directions, and some swivel-guns. Farther on is another traverse called San Gabriel, opposite the Parian of the Sangleyes, with a like amount of artillery. Both have some soldiers and an ordinary guard.

"The wall has a sufficient height, and is furnished with battlements and turrets, built in the modern style, for its defense. It has a circuit of about one league, which can be made entirely on top. It has many broad steps of the same hewn stone, at intervals inside.

"There are three principal city gates on the land side, and many other posterns opening at convenient place on the river and beach for the service of the city."

We can supplement this account in several respects with another contemporary report signed by Alfonso de Biebengud, chief of artillery, June 6, 1607.

It appears from this that the actual number of pieces of artillery in Fort Santiago or on the defenses at various points was sixty-three of which twenty-six were allotted to Fort Santiago, seven to the fort of Nuestra Señora de Guia, six each to the breastworks of San Gabriel in the Parian of the Sangleyes, San Andres near the foundry and San Pedro near the new port, and to the Plaza de Armas, four to the breastwork of Dilaw (now San Lorenzo near the site of the Manila High School), and two to the curtain on the water front.

These sixty-three varied in size, and quality, and name, and were made up of one-half culvering, fifteen sakers, eighteen half-sakers, seventeen patereroes, three bastard sakers, one culverin, two passevolantes, three half-cannons, one bell mouthed piece, one catapult, and one cannon. Of these thirty-seven had been cast in Manila, nine in Mexico, one in Genoa, four in Portugal, two in Peru, seven in Flanders, two in Acapulco and one in England. The heaviest piece was the Manila cannon which weighed approximately 37.74 lbs., the lightest being a saker also from Manila, of just over a pound in weight. The length varied from a Flemish passe-volante which was forty times as long as its inside diameter (or caliber) to a local "paterero" whose similar ration was only as eleven to one.

In 1620 a complaint was laid against Governor Silva that he was dismantling the walls of artillery to provide protection for the trading-vessels, if by chance they should encounter the Dutch or English on their long voyage across the Pacific, and it is possible that some of the government this period, especially Sande, who was particularly interested in trade, might have devoted too much attention to external defense, in the belief that, if an impending attack could be checked outside the bay, there was no necessity for spending much time or money on the fortifications of the city. Governor Silva, however, apparently was not open to this imputation, as he built quarters for the troops inside the city, so as to enhance their efficiency in case of a siege.

In 1628 a Spanish expedition to Siam angered the Japanese by burning a Japanese junk, and two years later news was received by Governor Juan Niño de Tabora to the effect that the Japanese intended to seek retaliation for this injury, and would, at the first opportunity, attack Manila. The Governor at once appealed to the Chinese for aid from their commercial treasury, and managed to secure four thousand peso with which he built two wooden cavaliers, and a portion of covered way with a stone bridge.

Governor Tabora died on July 22, 1632, and in the interval between his death and the arrival of the next governor, Juan Cerezo de Salamanca, the management of political affairs was entrusted to the Audiencia, and the control of military matters to Lorenzo de Olasso, or Olaza, who was in command of the troops. Olasso busied himself in continuing the task which Governor Tabora had initiated, but the results were not entirely satisfactory, as is shown by a letter to Governor Salamanca to Philip IV, dated Manila, August 10, 1634:

"The fort of this city is a state of defense, although not in the perfection that is practiced in these times; but the fortification of the city is ruinous, to the degree of which your Majesty is informed. On the other hand, the location of its settlement is admirable, for more than half of it extends along the sea shore, where it cannot be approached by any enemies; while another part of the wall is bathed by the river. But on the land side it has a height, and a location for opening trenches up to the walls. The latter has no terraplen (the 'terraplen' was the upper surface of a rampart back of the parapet, on which the guns were mounted), and is seven palmos in height. The re-doubts are smaller and have no regularity; on the contrary, the casemates of three cavaliers of the said wall are in the way. The moat is filled up, and there is scarcely a sign of there having been one.

"I resolved to build a royal cavalier in the modern style at the weakest part of the wall. Without troubling the royal treasury, I began the work some four months ago, and now I hope to have it finished in two more. At the same time we are opening a moat, and we shall reduce the defense of the city to five ports. That it may be more strongly fortified, all the redoubts that impede communication between the cavaliers will be torn down, so that the wall will consist of only four stout bulwarks."

Salamanca's attitude as to the operation of other governors is somewhat scornful, and thereafter it was one of the first privileges of a new governor to discredit the architectural activity of his predecessor and to assume to himself the credit not only for all addition during his regime, but even for the original construction of the walls and forts.

Five years later, the value of the defenses was again thoroughly tested. As in 1603, their capacity to withstand a siege was again demonstrated by a Chinese insurrection, which broke out on November 19, 1639, and was not finally quelled until March 15 of the following year. On his journey to the Philippines, Governor Corcuera had found the government warehouses at Mexico overstocked with Chinese merchandise, and decided, consequently, not to despatch a ship to Acapulco in 1639.

This enraged the Chinese who were thus deprived of their yearly profits, and their anger was further increased by the forced removal of a large number of Chinese labourers to work in their fields at Calamba, and by the oppression of the provincial magistrate, Luis Arias de Mora.

After burning the village of Calamba and killing Mora, the Chinese sent their wives to the hills and proceeded to march in Manila.

At San Pedro Macati they were driven back by a considerable Spanish and native force under Captain Juan de Arceo, but a similar uprising at once took place at Pasig and Santa Cruz; the governor promptly burnt Santa Cruz, and removed all the troops and artillery to the Walled City, in order to cover the Chinese quarter, which remained in a state of unrest until December 2, when it also broke into rebellion.

The result was never in doubt. All the Chinese within the city were massacred and the artillery made terrible havoc among those who were outside the walls, and soon set the Parian on fire. Those who were not put to death, or did not perish in the flames, were drowned in the river. A conservative estimate places the number of deaths in Manila at 3,000. The remainder fled again to the mountains of La Laguna, and finally surrendered in the neighborhood of Cavite.

Formal peace was made on Bagumbayan field on March 15, 1640, and the Chinese survivors were conveyed across the "Great bridge" (then a wooden bridge with stone pillars), to Tondo, and left there in a stockade with troops guarding them on both sides. (This place was ever after called "La Estacada" or "The Stockade".)

Their defeat is attributed to their lack of cannon and firearms but the whole record is one of needless, deliberate, slaughter, of which the butchery, especially of the house-servants, in the walled city is typical.

The damage to the city or its suburbs, apart from the burning of the Parian and of the village of Santa Cruz, which has already been mentioned, included the demolition of a house belonging to the Jesuits at San Pedro Macati, and the destruction of many buildings in Tondo and Binondo besides the entire district of Sampaloc with a stone house and church belonging to the Franciscans.

While the insurrection was actually taking place, the city was being provided with a new moat, which, "connecting with the old one by the side of the foundry (now the bastion of San Diego), extended almost to the sea. This is a celebrated work which was completed in a very short time, all due to the assiduity and personal attention of the commandant of artillery."

As soon as the Chinese had been allowed to return to their avocations, Governor Corcuera immediately proceded to add to the fortification fund, which, at this time depended only on the monopoly of playing cards, by increasing amount paid by the Chinese for a license permitting them to remain and trade in the islands from eight pesos, five reals, to ten pesos, adding another government or fortification license, costing ten pesos for those who wished to leave the Parian, and inaugurating a special license (a little license) of six reals to built forts on the side of Bagumbayan.

In this he encountered the opposition of the fiscal of the Audiencia, on the ground that the increase was both illegal and impolitic under present conditions, that it had been made without proper authority and that it tended to keep the Chinese in the Parian and prevent them from engaging in other occupations more profitable to the citizens of Manila.

This attitude of the fiscal possibly hampered Corcuera, as though the loss to the Spaniards of the island of Formosa in 1642 enabled him in 1643 to clear the zone of fire, his destruction of houses in Bagumbayan aroused much hostility on the part of the Recollects.

The Dutch were indeed well aware that "the stockade, most and outer ditch, with their towers at intervals were incomplete and that even the bells and iron gates of houses had been cast into cannon for lack of metals."

Corcuera's successor, Fajardo, realized this fully, and began at once to remedy existing defects. He succeeded in completing the great San Diego bastion, at the extreme southern angle of the enciente facing both land and sea, the first of the great bastions added to the encircling wall, though then only low and rough, but his plans were disastrously set at nought by the terrific earthquake of 1645. This was followed by another in 1658, and it was not until 1662-1663 that Governor Manrique de Lara proceeded to make essential extensions and repairs.

Lara not only personally supervised the work of construction, but actually lived on the beach in a small straw hut to be on the spot when lime was needed.

This personal interest reduced the actual cost to the trifling sum of 6,000 pesos, which was spent in various directions. Fort Santiago (which is called Fort San Felipe, in 1662) was provided with a lower parapet with a platform running out to the sea, five redoubts were built between the fort and the San Diego bastion, and a covered way was constructed from the Dilao bastions to the

Malosac estero (this estero crosses Calles San Luis and Isaac Peral between Calle Real and Calle Taft, and is now known by the name of Estero de Balete). Another redoubt was erected at the Almacenes postern "so that these shook hands with the cupola at the river."

At the Parian gate a spacious ravelin was made with its covered way towards the bridge over the river, "cutting the land between the inner and outer ditches, and leaving a passage sunken around the ditches for a movable bridge."

The wall was also strengthened on the river side by a lower rampart, and a fine bridge was built on the estero of Santa Cruz, so that the cavalry and troops could reconnoitre unhindred on the other side of the river.

At the same time orders were issued to destroy the churches of Santiago, Bagumbayan, Hermita, Malate, Parañaque, Dilao, San Lazaro, the Parian, and Santa Cruz, besides various country houses which the Spaniards owned in these environs, orders which, as we shall see, were only partially carried out a century later.

It is noticeable that the forts and redoubts constructed at this time were in advance positions; Montero y Vidal tells us that Lara contributed 12,000 pesos from his own private purse, and that many Spaniards both laymen and friars, also gave generous aid. This will account for the smallness of the sum taken from the treasury.

With the opening of the eighteenth century, the work continues as vigorously as ever. In 1715 another flanking defense was built by Governor Jose Torralba near the Almacenes gate on the side facing the Pasig River. (This was demolished in 1796 to allow the new river front to be built and the curtain on Calle Maestranza was pulled down in 1903 to make more room for the "Muelle de los Almacenes" (Magazine wharf), now — 1910 — occupied by the Bureau of Navigation.)

Torralba's activity as a military architect was not commensurate with his good fortune as he died in Manila in extreme poverty, under sentence of exile both from Spain and Mexico.

In 1729 the walls were restored by Governor Valdes Tamon, who was also, as may be seen by inscriptions bearing his name, responsible for much work in the way of repairs, and in 1745 they were raised in height by Governor Arrechedera.

The inscription over the entrance gate of fort Santiago, which bears the date of 1731, shows that Valdes Tamon also rebuilt this fort. It is practically certain that this and the curtain walls facing the bay and the land are substantially the same as at that date.

There is fortunately, in existence a contemporary map of the city and its fortifications, made to the order of the same governor. The original copy is in the British Museum, but a photographic reproduction was brought to Manila by Doctor Joaquin Pardo de Tavera, and the Military Information Bureau possesses a plate, from which blueprints have been made. There is no date on the map itself but it probably accompanied the report made to King Philip V, just before Valdes Tamon's resignation in 1739. On the point that marks the San Diego bastion is the work "Breach," and it is supposed that General Draper or one of his officers added the word, and made use of the map in the British attack upon the city.

It bears in the left hand top corner inscription in Spanish, surmounted by the royal arms:

> "Topografia de la ciudad de Manila, capital de las Islas Filipinas, fundada en la de Luzon Nuevo Reyno de Castilla, dedicado al Rey Nuestro Señor D. Felipe V. (Que Dios Guarde) por el Mariscal de Campo D. Fernando Valdes Tamon su Governador y Capitan Genl. de las Islas Presidente de la Rel. Audiencia y Chancria. de ellas, delinedas de orden de su Magd. por D. Antonio Fernandez de Roxas, y esculpida por Fr. Hipolito Ximenez del Orden de la Hospitl. dl. Glorioso S. Juan de Dios."

The translation in English is:

> "Map of the city of Manila, capital of the Philippine Islands, established in the Island of Luzon or New Kingdom of Castille, dedicated to Our Lord King Philip V. (whom God preserve) by Field Marshal Don Fernando Vales Tamon his Governor and Captain-General of these Islands, and President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancillery, drawn by order of his Majesty by Don Antonio Fernandez de Roxas, and engraved by Friar Hipolito Ximenez of the order of the Hospital of the glorious Saint John of God (Hospitallers).

The first part of the report, which is of a voluminous nature, after an introductory letter by Don Joseph Patiño, royal secretary to the council of the Indies, gives a concise description of the city of Manila and of Fort Santiago, and adds, by way of explanation, a plan and topographical chart of the capital, Manila, and of the castle of Santiago. (This is the plan above mentioned.) It then describes in succession all the Spanish forts in the Philippines, following this up with a general resume of the fortifications, with their construction and location, a list of the military supplies and a summary of the troops and their pay.

It concludes with an account of each of the provinces, with their receipts and expenditure, and a hydrographic chart of the Philippines.

In that portion dealing with the fortifications the governor promises "exact information as to the armaments, garrisons, pay, rations, and stores for their maintenance, with the gross expense and gross income for the year and the source from which it is maintained, with a list of the fortresses, citadels, and forts under Royal charge in the provinces of the Philippine Islands, with plans of the same appended."

In dealing especially with the defenses of Manila, the report is as follows:

"The fortifications with which this town is girt are everywhere irregular in shape, in accordance with the surface of the ground. Its walls, though of masonry, are not regarded as inferior, if one considers the good quality of the stone, which it is easy to work on account of being soft, to those of mud or brick. On the other hand I am persuaded that an injustice would be done to our walls if one should deny them that advantage of the former kind and the solidity of the latter, in view of their great resistance; for in the course of more than a century since their construction some slight decay has been noticed only occasionally, and in places here and there little sheltered from the salt winds; and this is remedied, or the wall is preserved, by applying a thin coat of lime, an idea which has come as the result of experience. Its circuit appears to be 12,498 Castillian feet, both its extremities closing with the castle of Santiago, which, on account of its position, occupies in Manila the place of the citadel.

"The bastions in its circuit are twelve, all furnished with terraplen; nine are small, and the other large, or the regular size." The large bastions bore the names of San Lorenzo, San Andres and San Diego; the small bastions, of San Eugenio, San Joseph, Santa Ysabel, San Juan, San Francisco, San Miguel, Santa Barbara, San Francisco and San Gabriel. Of these San Eugenio, at the southwest end of Calle Victoria, is now called San Pedro; San Joseph, opposite the Augustinian church, has almost entirely disappeared; San Ysabel, at the end of Calle Anda, in an altered form, is now known as the Bastion "del Plano" (. . . . .). A much diminished San Juan remains at the end of Calle Aduana, while San Francisco, San Miguel and Santa Barbara, at the extreme end of the point, have been left as they were in 1739. This complete the line of defense on the sea side. Along the river, San Francisco has given place to a larger bastion, known as Tenerias (. . . . .) while another bastion (Aduana) which has now been destroyed was added between Tenerias and San Gabriel. The San Gabriel bastion facing the Bridge of Spain is intact, though there is no trace, save a small pile of irregular stones of the round fort ("fortin") which guarded the entrance to the Bridge and give it one of its names "Puente del Fortin" (Fortress bridge.)

Facing Bagumbayan drive, new redoubts have been thrown up to protect the Parian and Real Gates, the latter of which is a demilune, or luneta. Both were determined upon by a royal order of November, 1766, the engineer in charge being Miguel Antonio Gomez. The great bastion of San Lorenzo is now given the less euphonious though more terrifying title of "The Devil" ("El Diablo"), while another redoubt named from the church opposite which it is constructed ("de los Recoletos") fills the open space between San Lorenzo and San Andres (also known as Garranza or . . . .). The three great bastions on the land side culminating with the massive splendour of San Diego, the "ace of spades", still present the most imposing line of defense. Outside the main line the Carlos IV battery, which can now be seen on Calle Carlos IV just behind the new Normal School, was the work of Engineer Rafael Aguilar, while the Luneta redoubt in front of the demi-lune of the Real Gate was authorized by Governor Enrile in 1835.

"In one of these last named, San Adnres, there is a powder magazine, bomb-proof, which the present governor caused to be constructed." (See Monuments and Inscriptions: S. Andres Bastion). "An incentive to building this was the little shelter afforded by a mere shed in former times, and the exposed condition o fits contents to the shots of a besieger; these risks that were feared have ceased at sight of the present fortification. There are two sentry towers incorporated with the said walls, and besides this there is a ravelin and crown work. All this is a very respectable aggregate contributing to the greatest defense of the city; the situation of each of hese defenses will be describe at the proper time."

"The gates of this city are six, two main entrances and four posterns. Of these Santa Lucia and Palacio, which look toward the west allow passage to the shore, as also on the north side of Santo Domingo and Almacenes gates give passage to the river. The main gates are distinguished by the names Real and Parian. The latter is situated in middle of the curtain which faces the northeast between the San Lorenzo and San Gabriel bastions; and inside of it is its guard station, capacious enough to lodge a company of men" (traces of this guard station may be seen on entering the Real gate from Calle Muralla).

"Corresponding to the empty space below, in the upper part of it, it has a capacious sentry tower, furnished with some cannon, which by favor of its sides defends the collateral bulwarks, a fortification which, it may be supposed, was placed here in order to make up for the defect of the extraordinary length of the curtain." (As has been mentioned above, this defect was later remedied by the addition of the so-called Recollect bastion.)

"The outer works of this rule are thus composed: a crown work which masks the gate; a faussebraye (Spanish — falsabraga) which extends from the flank of the bastion San Gabriel, until it almost reaches the said gate, there leaving room for a little bridge for communication with the crown-work already mentioned; a ditch, of which we shall treat later on; its covered way, parapet, and palisade, with its esplanade, the whole regularly surrounded, as far as the narrowness of the place permits; and at its foot a quagmire which serves as an outer ditch." (The term "quagmire," with its implication of efficient mosquito-breeding facilities, well represented the state of the moat, as the Americans found it in 1898. Its present condition is one of the most remarkable achievements of the American occupation.)

"At the end of this, and along its outer margin extending towards the south, there is a grand highway, which at its beginning is joined with another but small road which lies between the outer ditch and the river; and both of these connect with a little bridge next to a small fort which was erected for the guard station at the large bridge which, close by, crosses the river."

(The "grand highway" was then called the Calzada." It was later known as "Calzade de Bagumbayan," and now as Bagumbayan Drive; the "small road" is now Magallanes Drive; the "little bridge" lays between the bastion of San Gabriel and the intersection of Bagumbayan Drive and Magallanes Drive; the "small fort" was the "fortin" above mentioned; and the "large bridge" is the present Bridge of Spain.)

"The ditch of the half-curtain (of which mention was reserved for this place, in order to avoid confusion) is formed by the waters which overflow from the river at the rise of tide." (See Street and Alleys: Calle Arroceros, where mention will be found of the various names attached to this portion of the city because of the overflow. It was the objectionable deposit left, when this overflow had subsided, that probably led to the cutting of the Canal de Balete.

"It starts from the angle defended by the bastion San Gabriel, and extended till it is very near the Parian gate with a counterscarp (the slope of a ditch opposite the parapet) which there leaves it, bending towards the crown-work, and thus is left almost isolated, with a small arm. This a little further, adds all its waters, as if on deposit, to the outer ditch already mentioned." (from the Parian gate it was necessary to pass on to a long peninsula and then across a narrow bridge to the opening of the bridge of Spain.) "Not thus the main ditch, for this overflowing the right side according to the amount it receives from the river, continues its course along to its curves, until, coming close to the walls, it wends its course round about them, near the bastion of San Diego." At this place art has imposed restraints on it, having in mind, no doubt, the frequent invasions to which that vicinity would be exposed if (as was easy for it) this ditch should come to unite its water with the sea." (The signs of this artificial restraint are still visible in the slight eminence at the base of the Legaspi-Urdaneta Monument.)

"From this measure of prudence resulted two benefits of special importance, in which both the fortified fort and the general public are directly interested, the former, on account of the advantage which it enjoys in the fact that the ditch serves it as a moat on the eastern and southern sides; and the latter, because it is utilized for the great number of vessels, which, aided by the rising tide, come up to the Puerta Real (Real gate) to discharge their loading. This is one of the two principal gates already mentioned. It is located on the southern side of the town, in the curtain which defends the bastions San Diego and San Andres, although nearer to the latter, and it much resembles the gate of the Parian '(although built in different style)' in its convenience and its fortifications, for it has, like the former, a guard station and watch tower similarly arranged and equipped.

"It is only noted that this curtain, peculiar among all, is the only one which is furnished with terreplein; for this reason some cannons (which defense the other lack) have been placed in it."

Its other exterior works, arranged according to their order, are reduced to a bridge that can be raised, a moat, with its counterscarp faced with stone ("revestido"), and at a little distance a ravelin in condition for defence, notwithstanding which, on account of masking the gate it is not found in front of the half of the curtain which was its proper place. Although this gate has the remaining features of covered way, parapet, palisade, and esplanade, they were entirely in view at the time when this government began, which induced us to plan them anew, in modern style, and of a much better quality." (The present substantial character of the gate is a proof of the truth of the writer's claim.)

"All the curtains which face the western and northern part of the fortress are, without question, the weakest part of its defenses; but on the supposition — which is believed to be a remote contingency — that European armies may move to attack it in earnest." (There is a tragic note in this statement in view of the events of twenty-three years later), "and it may be regarded as an enormous undertaking by our enemies here, who are most laughable on account of their lack of disscipline and forts — the natural defenses are apparently even more than sufficient." (Once the Chinese were debarred, the possibility of a native attack never aroused any fear in the minds of the Spaniards and the river side was thus left comparatively unprotected.) "For it has on the west the water of the bay for a moat and on the north a river that is broad and deep; and with this all fears may be laid aside."

Valdes Tamon goes on to speak of the foundry and iron-furnace within the walled city and of the "powder factory" (at Malate), a scant half-league to the south, now occupied by the Military Transportation Corral, which is enclosed by a triangular redoubt (called San Antonio Abad) of stone and mortar, with seven mounted iron cannons, and fortified by three demi-bastions.

Mounted on the fortifications, outside Fort Santiago, there were, at this time 43 bronze and 65 iron cannons, besides two stone mortars for guarding the moat.

The available ammunition consisted of 20,370 iron cannon balls, 18 bronze stone mortars, 5 iron "esmeriles", 4 iron "pinzotes" (. . . .), 458 match-lock arquebuses, ... 409 flintlock guns with bayonets attached, 34 pairs of pistols, 20 iron and bronze blunderbusses, 2,267 swords of various kinds, 1,097 iron grenades 50,342 lead bullets and a supply of gunpowder. The available troops consisted of 9 companies of Spanish infantry, numbering in all 675 men, the personal guard of the Governor consisting of the officer in command and 13 halberdiers (. . . . .), 9 adjutants, a deputy commander of artillery with a head gunner, and 36 ordinary gunners, a military engineer, an oversear of the royal works, besides, for service in the shops, several Spanish workmen and 2 companies of Pampango infantry, 248 strong.

By far the largest monthly salary paid was 137 pesos, to the commander in chief. The other officers received sums varying from thirty pesos to six pesos, the native captains getting but little over four pesos. The Spanish soldiers were paid three to two pesos a month, the native soldiers on the average only a trifle over one peso. In addition a ration of rice was served out to everyone, including the captain of the governor's body guard, the chief engineer and the overseer of works. The total wage sheet came to 34,139 pesos.

Valdes Tamon treats of Fort Santiago apart from the walled city.

"The castle of Santiago has," he reports, "a circuit of 2,030 feet, and its shape is almost triangular. Its fortifications on the southern side, which face the city, include a curtain with a terreplein, flacked by two demi-bastions." (San Miguel towards the bay, San Francisco facing the river.) "It has a faussebraye, and a ditch which communicates with the river. On the northern side, towards the entrance of the ditch instead of a bastion, has been raised a cavalier with three facets or batteries; one of them fronts on the sea (the anchorage included) another the said entrance, and a third the river itself. The last side of the cavalier joins a large tower of the same height as the walls; and through the tower there is a descent to a semi-circular platform or battery, at the level of the water, with which the aforesaid triangular figure of the castle is completed. The walls are pierced for the necessary communications. The principal entrance is in the south wall from the city, while the river and seashore are reached by a postern gate."

The number of bronze cannon in the fort was twenty-nine, while there were twelve iron cannons. The reserve supplies consisted of 1,534 iron cannon-balls, 1 bronze mortar, 95 muskets, 85 match-locks, 3,414 balls, 161 gremades, 80 barshots, 80 lanterns (contrivances for using fire and stones), 148 swords of various kinds and some gun powder.

The Spanish garrison of the fort comprised the warden ("castellano") appointed by the king, with three officers, and sixty privates, besides a head gunner and twelve gunner, a page, a standard-bearer, a fifer and two drummers. There was also one company of natives (Pampangos) with six officers and non-commissioned officers and sixty men. The payroll in money and rice came to 4,595 pesos a year. The warden received sixty-six pesos a month, the Spanish officers from three to fifteen pesos, and the native captain six pesos. The pay of the Spanish soldiers was two pesos a month, and of the natives one peso.

With the map in front of us and keeping in mind the modern names as given above, it is easy to follow the line of fortifications round the city. Just outside the gateway of Fort Santiago, which still bears traces of early seventeenh century work, is an open square, part of which is now known as Plaza de Moriones, but which was at this period, called Plaza de la Fuerza (Fortress Square). The line of wall facing the bay has no interior buttresses and is of the same simple construction as the curtain of the fort. Of the five small bastions along the sea front, the fort nearest to San Diego, though of ancient work, were probably not part of the original wall, but were added between 1604 and 1632. Of these, two, San Juan and San Joseph, have the northern, and a third, San Francisco, the southern flank twice as long as the other, thus producing a zigzag curtain line, technically termed en "cremailliere".

Their age is shown by their size and shape. They are small and narrow, and stand at right angles to the curtain, being of the type devised by Michelin in an age when a direct attack was invariably made no on the bastions, but on the curtains.

On the land front the large bastions of San Andres and El Diablo were obviously part of Governor Tabora's plan. The San Gabriel bastion, with its perpendicular straight flanks, has been much changed since 1739, while on the river side the present line is almost unrecognizable, in comparison with the old wall and forts.

Arriving at Fort Santiago, we recall that, as Governor Dasmariñas left it, it was a castellated structure, trapezoidal in plan, with its straight, grey front projecting into the river mouth.

Above was an open gun platform, called the battery of Santa Barbara, the patron saint of gunners, and supported by arches. These arches formed casemates, . . . which afforded a lower tier of fire through embrasures, or loopholes. The flanks were extended to the front facing the city by curtain-walls of the simplest character, without buttresses or counterforts.

Valdes Tamon added, at a lower level, a large semicircular gun-platform looking out on the sea, and another, of smaller dimensions, facing the river.

He also filled in the casemates, and closed the embrasures. The curtain facing city wards was elaborated into a bastion front, and a lower parapet, bordering the interior moat, was made in order to connect the bastion salients. All this will be found totally with the description given in the report.

The supreme test of the value of the fortifications came in 1762, which was a critical year in the history of Manila. All the organization and plans of nearly two hundred years had not resulted in forming a line of defence which could satisfactorily repel any sufficient force armed with suitable siege artillery, and the churches of Santiago and San Juan de Bagumbayan, the former barely two hundred yards to the southeast of the San Diego Bastion, the latter approximately the same distance, a little east of south, from that of San Andres, afforded excellent protection for attacking troops. Governor Arandia had tried ineffectually to have these building removed but, on his sudden death, his successor had taken no further action in the matter. There was no fleet to check invasion at the entrance of the bay, and as a climax, the scanty numbers and poor quality of the Spanish contingent, their miserable equipment and lack of ammunition, and the absence of a competent leader were defects that could only have been remedied by a radical change in political conditions.

On the evening of September 24, 1762, a British squadron, under Admiral Cornish, entered Manila Bay. It had left Madras on July 29 and August 1, and Malacca on August 27. It consisted of 9 warships, the Elizabeth, Grafton, Lennox, Weymouth, Argo, Norfolk, Panther, America and Seafort and two storeships, the South Sea Castle and the Admiral Stevens.

The troops, under Brigadier-General Draper, Royal Artillery, were disembarked in a heavy surf at Fort San Antonio Abad (now part of the Military Land Transportation Corral), where was a powder-magazine ("La Polvorista") at the point at which the estero of "La Tripa de Gallina" runs into the sea.

As the Spaniards indignantly refused to surrender, and proceeded to burn the suburbs, the British occupied the Malate church the same night, and the next day, marched along the beach to Ermita, the defenders deserting all outposts beyond the walls and retiring behind the shelter of the walled city.

The force available for attack consisted of the 79th regiment of British Infantry, two companies of British artillery, about 1,500

Sepoys, 679 sailors and 342 marines, besides two companies of French recalcitrants.

On September 25, the Santiago church, (on the northeast corner of Wallace Field) was also occupied and, on September 26, the enemy were dislodged from the church of San Juan de Bagumbayan (near the present north bandstand on the Luneta). From either of these two points of vantage a perfect view could be obtained of the defenses. As the San Gregorio redoubt (near the present Legaspi-Urdaneta monument) was unarmed, the covered way on the San Diego bastion was out of repair and without sentries, the glacis much to low and the most round the capital of the bastion dried up, it was decided to attack that point.

This plan was also the best under the conditions, as the ground now occupied by the Botanical gardens was flooded. This rendered an attack on that side practically out of the question, and effectually prevented the British from crossing over to Binondo, Tondo or Santa Cruz, which commanded the river and the open country to the north.

The battering train, which was placed behind the Santiago church, consisted of eight 24-pounders and two 18-pounders, from which a heavy fire was kept up. Owing to lack of skill, the Spaniards responded with but little effect from their batteries, though "they were lined with a great number of fine brass cannon." On September 29, the Elizabeth and the Falmouth, under Commander Tiddeman, proceeded to enfilade the west front by placing themselves as near to the city as they could. On the night of October 1, in typhoon weather, the battery for the 24-pounders was completed, a mortar-battery raided for the heavy 10-inch and 12-inch shells, and an armoury constructed on the seach beach, without the least interruption. On October 2 all the guns were mounted and masked, and the next day a heavy fire was directed against the salient angle of the San Diego bastion, with the result that the twelve pieces on its face were silenced in a few hours. The same night a three-gun battery was made ready to play on the bastion of San Andres, the artillery of which was annoying the flank of the British line.

On October 4, the besieged made two unsuccessful sallies, the first through the brush growing around the Malosac estero, which crosses Ermita in a southwesterly direction, the second a direct attack on the Santiago church. The natives who made the first sorties were so dismayed at their failure that most of them decided to return home.

On October 5, the breach at last appeared practicable. The San Andres battery had been finally silenced, and that night the necessary preparations were made for an attack at daybreak.

This commenced at four a.m. The Spaniards appeared in considerable numbers on the San Andres bastion, but soon disappeared on the explosion of some shells among them. The British immediately discharged all their artillery and mortars under cover of a thick smoke blowing directly from the city. Led by sixty volunteers of different corps, under the command of Lieutenant Russell of the 79th, and supported by engineers, pioneers, and other workmen to enlarge the breach, the attacking force swarmed in along Calle Palacio.

Practically no opposition was encountered except at the Real Gate, and from the galleries of the houses surrounding the Plaza del Palacio (now Plaza McKinley). Archbishop Rojo, who was also governor, and the principal officials retired to Fort Santiago and surrendered, as prisoners on parole, the same day.

The Treaty of Paris, signed in January, 1763, restored the Philippines again to its old masters, and the walls again received the attention of the Spanish governors.

The greatest damage, during the siege, has been inflicted on the two great bastions of San Andres and San Diego, which has borne the burnt of the fire, but the curtain rampart had also been badly damaged and the general weakness of the plan had been clearly demonstrated.

In addition, a hurricane on October 12, 1761, had done no little harm to the fortifications, which were well enough to ward off Moros, but had been proved to be utterly unfit for the heavy connonades of civilized warfare.

It was also absolutely essential to keep the esplanades and gun carriages in a reasonable state of repair, while, if possible, it was of even greater importance to clear the outskirts.

The individuals who were most insistent on radical and immediate reform were the fiscal Leandro de Viana, who was cordially supported in his projects by Engineer Miguel Antonio Gomez. The two worked hand in hand.

Thus, while it was the latter who suggested the demolition of the churches of San Anton, Dilaw, San Lazaro and of the

Parian, as well as of all nipa and bamboo houses that reached up to the Parian and real Gates, it was Vian who wished also to pull down the churches of Ermita, Malate and San Miguel, or any other that might be within three hundred paces of walls. Again, when, on March 22, 1765, Viana recommended to the Audiencia that they should level all land between the districts of Ermita and Bagumbayan and transfer the natives of the latter barrio to other villages, Gomez submitted a scheme for repairs and alterations, which was duly approved by a royal order on November..., 1766, though the work was not actually carried out until after the return of Simon de Anda y Salazar in 1770, as Governor Raon was a person of little vigour or initiative.

The work accomplished by Gomez was as follows; he secured the transference of the Real gate from the Southern end of Calle Palacio to the middle of the curtain between the bastions of San Diego and San Andres; he built the Parian ravelin; he reconstructed the right face and flank of the San Gabriel bastion, which limits the land front on the north, though it was not finally completed till 1787, and he commenced the present moat and covered way.

The necessary hard labour was done by Sangleyes, who found it very irksome. They were consequently, anxious to make a commutation, and offered 12,000 pesos to the government and 6,000 to the Audiencia, if they could be relieved. Their claims were supported by Viana, who suggested that their place could well be supplied by criminals and convicts, and by "vagabonds and michievous persons who abound in the villages."

The next governor to display activity was the indefatigable Basco y Vargas, but his military enthusiasm was displayed mainly in repairing the gates, and it was not until December 16, 1796, when Rafael Maria de Aguilar y Ponce de Leon was governor, that any radical changes were made. The demand for such changes was insistent, as there was constant fear of another British attack. The British had, indeed, seized the fort of Balanguingui, on the island of Mindanao, and the memory of thirty years back was still fresh in the Spanish mind.

Accordingly Francisco Sabatini, chief of engineers, was instructed to modify the rampart fort facing the Pasig, which he proceeded to do by converting it into a bastioned front. From the salient to the San Gabriel bastion to the Arsenal ("La Maestranza") the entire wall was completely altered. It is curious that so much attention should have been paid to this side, when it was obvious that it was the least exposed flank.

Sabatini also continued the moat and covered way, which was finally completed by Rafael Aguilar who was also responsible for the construction of the battery of Carlos IV, and probably the Plano Bastion, and the new outworks of San Pedro and San Francisco facing the sea. The moat was finished by making a long slope at the foot of the scrap.

The rampart at it now stand varies both in thickness and height: In Fort Santiago there is a thickness of soft tufa, of barely eight feet, at the west end of calle Aduana the wall is 45 feet thick, while the crest rose 20 feet above the ditch, near the Real gate these dimensions are 29 and 42 feet and at the junction of Fort Santiago and the wall on the Pasig river 29 and 56 feet. The stone used was quarried at Maycauayan or Binangonan, or brought from China.

No alterations were made by the Spaniards, except in the way of necessary repairs, during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Elaborate changes were, indeed, suggested by a royal order of April 23, 1872, but they were never carried into effect, and the following account, given by an Englishman who visited Manila in 1820, while it erred somewhat in the direction of caustic criticism, may be taken as a fairly accurate picture of current conditions, but slightly modified by the improvements of the last decade.

"The city is well fortified on the sea and land faces, but on that towards the river very indifferently, being only defended by a long curtain with a few ill-constructed bastions, which from their indifferent size are rather playthings than bastions. The curtain is narrow, and confined on the inside, and unfit for guns of calibre, the buildings within the city overlooking and even joining the wall in some places.

"On the other side of the river, within 200 yards of the curtain, are a number of stone houses, along the whole length of its bank; and the bases of these having walls of eight and ten feet thick of solid masonry, would afford an immediate cover for the enemy, who might breach the curtain in ten minutes at so short a distance, and with perfect safety, the fire from some of these taking the whole of the works on the northeast side in reverse. Indeed its only defense on this side is the river, the current of which is always rapid. Over it is a neat but narrow stone bridge of ten arches, which joins the city at its northern angle to the suburbs. On the city side of the river is a square tower, with an archway pierced through it, and with embrasures on the top. This is intended as a tete du pont (bridge-head); but it is too small for any effective purpose, and, like the bastions on the face, resembles a military plaything; and this defect is more striking, as the fortifications, from this angle on the land and sea faces, are remarkable handsome and well proportioned.

"At the north-west point of the city, which joins the moat, is the citadel of Santiago, a clumsy old-fashioned fortification, separated from the rest of the city by a narrow ditch with a stone bridge, but joined by the curtains of the bastions. It is incapable of any respectable defense, except from a semi-circular bastion, which forms the point, and commands the main entrance of the river. It is now used as a state prison and magazine. The convicts employed in the public works are also lodged in it. This was the refuge of the unfortunate foreigners who escaped from the massacre of the 9th of October; and, to the honor of the commandant (Col. Don A. Parreño) and his lady be it recorded, they found there another home. (The natives had attributed the outbreak of cholera to the poisoning of their wells by the foreign residents of Manila.)

"The length of the city within the walls is 1,300 Spanish yards, from N. W. to S. E.; its width 744, and circumference 4,166.

"The side toward the river, as has already breen remarked, is, from the want of bastions, and from the encumbered state of the approaches to it, in a very defective state. The sea and land faces are exactly the reverse of this, being remarkably clear and strong.

"The land face has a double ditch, and an esplande of five or six hundred yards in breadth, which toward the river is marshy and swampy and utterly unfit for military operations.

"Toward the sea and for some miles along the coast is an epaulement (a defence of gabions or bags filled with earth, or earth banked up), thrown up when in expectation of an attack from the English in 1804. On this esplanade formerly stood a church, from the tower of which the English under Sir W. Draper fired into the heart of the city; it is now-razed. There is also a small battery called Charles the Fourth's on an elevated spot in the marshy ground; it is about 350 yards from the fortifications and is mostly used as an exercising battery. Another redoubt of stone stand at the southern point of the outer ditch, and flanks the seashore to a considerable distance to the southward; it also serves to cover the head of the outer ditch; which is not carried round the sea face, apparently for want of room, as its crest would nearly approach high water mark in this point.

"There are six gates to the city, two on each face; those on the land side have neat stone bridges of the outer ditch, which are not mined, and, being of solid masonry, would be found cumbersome in case of an attack; the inner ones, and those on the sea side, are of wood or stone pillars with draw-bridges. The ditches are wide and deep, but much encumbered with mud and weeds, from which last the fortifications also have suffered. The bastions on the sea and land sides are in many places without embrasures, the guns being 'en barbette' (elevated so as to fire over the top of the parapet). The shore is not very flat, and will perhaps allow a frigate to lay within gunshot of the ramparts."

This comparatively modern description completes the record of the various effort made to construct and maintain a walled city, but no account would be complete without some statement, however brief, as to the architecture of the enciente and its defenses.

The unique feature of Manila is that it offers an opportunity for studying every accepted style of European mediaeval fortification, at a distance of over ten thousand miles from their conception, even if the utilization of the various styles results in a certain lack of uniformity in the general plan.

If we, for instance, examine the great San Diego bastion, probably finished by Governor Fajardo, we shall find that it exemplifies the method or Errand of Bar-lo-Duc, the engineer of Henry of Navarre. Its shape is not unlike an ace of spades, with its orillons (literally "small ears") or curved corners built for the purpose of masking small pieces of ordinance placed either on the drawn-in-flanks or on the ears themselves to defend the ditch.

Prior to 1645 when the Comte de Pagan in his treatise on .... developed a system which eventually superseded those of his predecessors, all bastions flanks were placed perpendicular to the faces of the bastion or to the curtain of the wall, and on the Manila enciente all the bastions built before 1739 illustrate this custom.

Pagan, however, made the flank perpendicular to the line of defense, the line joining the curtain angle of one bastion to the salient angle of another.

The principles enunciated by Pagan were utilized with great skill and judgment by Vauban, and the ideas of these two masters of the art of fortifications were followed, with certain variations adopted to local conditions, almost implicitly by local engineers and architects in the eighteenth century. The work of Governor Valdes y Tamon and of Governor Arrechedera may be taken as typical imitative work of this period.

It is noteworthy that both these governors realized the merits of other schools and covered way, which had been borrowed from the Italians (its first description is by Tartaglia in 1554), or the small narrow bastions ("baluartillos") on the bay side, added between 1609-1626, of which those by Michilen on the enciente of Verona are supposed to be the oldest extant, while the contributions of the "compound system" of De Ville (1629) which united the methods of the Italian and Spanish schools were also left intact.

We owe a lasting debt of gratitude to those Spanish officials, and they were many, who repaired, but did not demolish, and left us a legacy which will lead many a tourist in the Orient towards the illustrious and ever loyal "city of the mangrove".

Note: — Where the authors use the word *now*, as in noting the modern name of a street, the reader will refer it to the date of the manuscript *circa* 1910, since which time other changes of street names have occurred. In certain of the paragraphs *leaders* appear that has been thought well enough to leave as spaces the reader may find interest in filling out for himself with the data the authors obviously had it in mind to look up. — Editor.

(From *The American Chamber of Commerce Journal*, v. XII, No. 12, Dec., 1932, p. 5, 10-11, 14-17, 20-28, 30, 32-44, 46)

THE FEDERAL PARTY: A BRIEF HISTORICAL STUDY

Maximo P. Fabella *

I. INTRODUCTORY

Observers of the Philippine political scene are dismayed and disturbed by the constant mention in the newspapers of a "third party." Such talks seem to suggest a bankruptcy of our two-party system. Senator Raul S. Manglapus, a young idealist-politician in his "A Call to Filipinism, Change and Greatness"[1] harps on this theme and suggests his solution — a third party.

It has been suggested that the establishment of our political parties at the time of foreign domination was a tragic mistake because "...they have become caricatures of their foreign models with its known characteristics — patronage, division of spoils, political bossism, and partisan treatment of vital national issues."[2] Perhaps, it is proper for us now to reexamine the early political parties to explain the very strong indictment above.

One of the first political parties was the Federal Party. This paper proposes to inquire into its brief history and to explain why it failed.

As used in this paper, a political party is "a group of citizens, more or less organized, who act as a political unit and who, by the use of their voting power, aim to control the government and carry out their general policies."[3] A legal definition states that a political party "means an organized group of persons pursuing the same political ideals in a Government..."[4]

Party struggles in the Philippines is said to have begun from the rivalry of Jose Rizal and Marcelo H. del Pilar for the leadership of the Filipino community in Madrid. The Liga Filipina, founded in 1892 and the Katipunan established in 1896 by Andres Bonifacio were precursors of political parties.

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* Teaches at the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of the East.

[1] *The Sunday Times*, April 11, 1965, p. 15-A.

[2] Claro M. Recto, "Political Parties Before the Bar of History" Commencement Address before the graduating class, UP 1960, *The Carillon*, IX No. 4 (April-May-June, 1960) p. 5.

[3] Raymond G. Gettell, *Political Science* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1949, Revised Edition) p. 289.

[4] Section 80, *Revised Election Code*.

Mention may be made of the Magdiwang and the Magdalo provincial councils of Cavite. Still later, during the Filipino-American War, there were groups among the Revolutionists: the "Pacifists" led by Pedro A. Paterno and the "Irreconcilables" led by Apolinario Mabini and Antonio Luna.

In Malolos, Republican counsels were again divided.[5] Factionalism and strife seems to be the order of the day. The deliberations at the Malolos Congress showed that the revolutionists were far from united. The very same people invited by Aguinaldo, were the ones who started the clamor, for American protectorate. In the words of one of its spokesmen:

> In October 1898 at Malolos, Cayetano Arellano who was then Secretary of Foreign Affairs and Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, Chief Diplomat, advocated *Union with America.* Their plan was to ask the United States to acknowledge the independence of the Philippines under a protectorate through the mediation of General Otis.[6] (Italic supplied).

Aguinaldo agreed to the plan. In a cabinet meeting a resolution asking for a protectorate was approved. The following day, Teodoro Sandico reported to Aguinaldo that the Japanese government through its consul would support his government if he would support absolute independence rather than a protectorate.[7] A letter from Felipe Agoncillo from U.S. said that "a majority of the American people were inclined to acknowledge the independence of the Philippines and Cuba."[8] Perhaps, these two assurances influenced Aguinaldo to drop the protectorate idea.

The overwhelming superiority of American arms convinced many people of ultimate defeat. One after another of the revolutionary capitals — Malolos, San Fernando, Cabanatuan, San Isidro, Tarlac, fell to the Americans, started a demoralization among the ranks. "Felipe Buencamino, [Jose] Albert, Arsenio Cruz Herrera and a majority of the Malolos Congress were in favor of absolute independence until April 18, 1899."[9] The same source testifies further that a majority of the Filipinos were willing to accept American sovereignty "except Luna and the military element."[10]

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[5] Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic* (University of the Philippines, 1960), cf. Maximo P. Fabella, "The Middle Class in the Second Phase of the Philippine Revolution" *Journal: College of Liberal Arts and Sciences,* Vol I No. 2 (June, 1964) pp. 120 *seq.*

[6] Felipe Buencamino, "The Federal Party of the Philippines, Its Inception." *Annual Report of General MacArthur,* (Manila: 1901). p. 56.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

Copies of the Schurman Commission proclamation reached the hands of the Filipinos on April, 1899. Felipe Buencamino and Pedro Paterno saw in the proclamation an opportunity to enter into friendly relations with the Americans. On May 1, 1899, in San Isidro (Nueva Ecija), "in a meeting of Congress it was agreed that the war policy was to be changed for one of peace."[11]

The approval of the new policy resulted in the downfall of the Mabini cabinet and its replacement by the Paterno cabinet. Among the first acts of "peace cabinet" was to appoint a peace commission to confer with the Americans. The commission was headed by Buencamino. The military element among the irreconcilables led by Luna prevented the intentions of Paterno. The American forces pressed on relentlessly, the Filipino forces resorted to guerrilla warfare.

When the fall of the Republican government was certain, the conservative elements of the country began to think of a party that would recognize American sovereignty. According to one prominent Federal, "The idea occurred to certain of the rich and educated residents of the capital and adjoining provinces immediately accepting the new sovereignty."[12] They were, according to Florentino Torres,

> Few in number, who worked in good faith convinced as they are that there was never any hope that Spain would willingly eliminate in the administration of the archipelago the harmful monastic elements always opposed to the advancement of the country and its inhabitants.[13]

The group was derisively called "Americanistas" but they called themselves "Autonomists." They worked and circulated their ideas and prepared a program:

> Messers, Buencamino, Fabie, Ner, Roxas, Artacho, Tirona, Dancel, Flores, and Reyes started on their avowed task of drawing up

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Florentino Torres, "Origin and Formation of the Federal Party" *Annual Report of General MacArthur,* p. 63.

[13] *Ibid.*

> a platform which was submitted to the construction of Don Florentino Torres, Don T. H. Pardo de Tavera, and Dr. Frank S. Bourns.[14]

The platform was unanimously accepted, and then submitted to the Second [Taft] Philippine Commission at a general meeting presided over by Mr. Taft on December 12-16, 1900. The platform was slightly changed by the commission.

II. THE FORMATION OF THE FEDERAL PARTY

The party was formally launched at a meeting held at "No. 36, Calle de Villalobos, Quiapo, . . . presided by Florentino Torres and attended by some one hundred and twenty-five pro-American Filipinos.[15] The party organization consisted of a "directorate of seven and a council of twenty-five members."[16] Tavera, Arellano, Bourns, Torres, Ambrosio Flores, Jose Ner, Thomas G. del Rosario were elected to the directorate. Felipe Buencamino and Arsenio Cruz Herrera and others to the council. The meeting also approved to send out "delegates" to form committees in the towns.

The "Committee's" work were hampered by guerrilla warfare that still raged. The organization of the party "caused an outburst of fury among the revolutionists."[17] There was an order to shoot members and sympathizers of the party. Military officers, tolerating the existence of a "committee" in his district is liable to the same punishment.

III. THE FIRST PLATFORM OF THE PARTY

The party flatform envisaged two periods — the "preliminary" and "constitutional."[18] The first period "recognizes the sovereignty of the United States; individual rights, and liberty with matters of religion and entire separation between church and state."[19] It also provided for municipal governments substantially alike that of the United States; the creation of armed militia; free compulsory elementary education, and employment on civil service basis."[20]

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[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines, Past and Present.* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1930) p. 339.

[18] Maximo M. Kalaw, *The Development of Philippine Politics* (Manila: Oriental Commercial Company, Inc., 1913) p. 274.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] *Ibid.*

The "constitutional period" provided for the election of "five representatives to the Congress of the United States who will remain in Washington."[21] A bicameral legislative body known as a "Territorial Congress" with a "Chamber of Representatives" elected by limited suffrage and a "Senate" whose members were "half elected... by alcaldes of the towns" and "the other half named by the governor-general."[22]

The executive power was exercised by a "governor-general, named by the ... President of the United States."[23] He was assisted by "secretaries."[24]

The judicial department "should be independent and permanent in the execution of its functions.[25]

As to the political status of the Philippines the platform provides "the territory of the Philippines may be considered as one of the states of the Union, but it can never be ceded in whole or in party to any foreign power."[27]

The U.S. President may veto the acts of the Territorial Congress through the governor-general. All appropriation bill must originate in the Chamber of Representatives.[26]

The platform shows the influence of the American Constitution in such provisions as the Bill of Rights; direct election for the lower house and indirect elections in the upper house; and finally in the independence of the judiciary.

IV. THE GROWTH OF THE FEDERAL PARTY

Aguinaldo's capture at Palanan by General Funston on March 23, 1901 was a death blow to the Republican cause. He was immediately brought to Manila and there he issued a manifesto which "served [sic] to weaken the moral force of the insurgents and strengthened the Federals."[28] In the manifesto, Aguinaldo said:

> The country has declared unmistakably for peace, so be it. Enough of blood; enough of tears and desolation. This wish cannot be ignored by men still in arms if they were animated by no other

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[21] *Ibid.*
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] *Ibid.*
[26] *Ibid.*
[27] Kalaw, *op. cit.*, p. 271.
[28] Joseph Ralston Hayden, *The Philippines* (New York: MacMillan Co. 1947) p. 317.

> desire than to serve this noble people which has thus nobly manifested its will.
>
> So also do I respect this will, now that it is known to me, after mature deliberation resolutely proclaim to the world that I cannot refuse to heed the voice of the people longing for peace...[29]

General Malvar surrendered in a little while. The capture of Aguinaldo and his proclamation weakened the revolutionary cause and paved the way for the rapid growth of the Federal Party.

Many people joined the bandwagon, among them former revolutionists. When the "Federals set forth their platform as an appeal, it was received with popular acclamations and natives joined by the thousands."[30] Tavera justified the party in this way:

> The Federal Party is continuing the insurrection, but by legal rather than forcible means. They were contending for the same rights set out by the Malolos Congress — the liberty of the individual.
>
> Independence did not mean liberty; the independence of the Filipinos would only change the despotism of Spain for a democratic tyranny as bad as, or worse.[31]

The party at that time was "apparently the most popular political organization Filipinos had over devised."[32] The Secretary reported that there were "two hundred and ninety committees organized throughout the archipelago with a membership of more than fifty-thousand."[33] Another estimate placed it at more than 250,000 people.[34]

When the Taft Commission went on an extensive tour of the provinces in 1901, the party leaders went with the tour to explain the situation to the people. Everywhere they were met by a "representative group composed of the best classes in the province."[35] The show of strength speaks well of the work done by the committee's in the local level.

In November 1901, the party approved a resolution to the U.S. Congress asking for annexation in a general convention:

> From the mass of data which the Federal Party has before it, and seriously and formally considered and deduced, that the in-

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[29] Worcester, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[30] Liang, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 64-65.

[32] Daniel E. Williams, *The Odyssey of the Philippine Commission* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg Co., 1913) p. 273.

[33] Hayden, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

[34] Liang, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[35] *Annual Report*, pp. 50-51.

> tentions of the Americans and the Filipinos is to constitutionally join the Philippines with America in such a way that the former may not be separated from the latter and the latter, disunited from the former.[36]

The party enjoined the confidence of the American authorities. Appointments to public offices were given to them. Mr. Taft testifies, "that in the appointment of natives the fact that one was a member of the Federal Party was always a good recommendation for him for appointment."[37]

Prominent Federal appointed to government positions were: T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Benito Legarda, Jose Luzuriaga to the Philippine Commission, Cayetano Arellano and Florentino Torres to the judiciary, Felipe Buencamino to the directorship of the Civil Service and many more.[38]

The Federals were "able to win practically all local elections including the gobernatorial elections prior to 1907."[39] In a way the Sedition Law (Act No. 292) and the Flag Law (Act No. 1699) promoted the party. The first law prohibited the advocacy of independence by peaceful and other means. The latter law banned the use of the Filipino Flag. Another contributory factor was the strict censorship of the press. Only the Federal Party was tolerated with the official blessings of no less than Governor Taft.

In 1904, an Honorary Commission composed mostly of Federals were sent to the St. Louis Exposition. They discovered, to their dismay, that the Americans were lukewarm to the idea of statehood. In 1905 a general convention was called to "consider the possible change of program."[40] The amended platform advocated "independence at some future date."[41] In spite of the change of platform it continued to lose followers.

Finally on January 1907 at a general convention in Manila the party met to decide the fate of the party. A resolution was adopted:

> To repudiate further the Old Federalists ideals and declared themselves in favor of making the Philippines and independent na-

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[36] *Federal Party Message to the United States Congress accorded in Extraordinary Assembly, November 1901, Manila.*

[37] Liang, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[38] Romeo V. Cruz, "The Filipino Collaboration with the Americans" *Comment* No. 10 (First Quarter, 1960) pp. 15-18.

[39] Liang, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

[40] Kalaw, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

[41] Liang, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

> tion by gradual and progressive acquisition of governmental control until the people should be fitted by education and 'practice under American sovereignty to enjoy the maintain independence.[42]

In the same meeting the name was changed to the *Partido Nacional Progresista.*

V. RESUME

The main accomplishment of the party was the promotion of peace. In the words of Mr. Daniel Williams, secretary to the Taft Commission "the party's service in pacifying the island is inestimable."[43]

Another achievement was it played the "role of interpreter of American intentions in the Philippines,"[44] through its leaders. It likewise served as a "medium of attraction and amicable contact with the insurgent leaders, as well as the unreconciled within the American military lines."[45]

Why did the party fail? The Revolution was too recent in the mind of the people. The general mass of the people looked with suspicion upon those who abandoned the "independence ideal," in their minds, they were "turncoats." In fact the Americans countered with the Flag Law, Sedition Law, and censorship.

The sentiment of the Filipinos were for independence and parties and leaders who were not in favor were repudiated at the polls.

Perhaps, a third and final reason was the one advanced by Recto, that Tavera "did not know how to make use of the spoils system to strengthen the party."[46] If he did, it might have stayed longer in power.

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[42] *Ibid.*
[43] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 244.
[44] Kalaw, *op. cit.*, p. 275.
[45] W. Cameron Forbes, *The Philippine Islands* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co.,
[46] Recto, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Dynamics of Nationalism: Readings in its Meaning and Development

By Louis L. Snyder
New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1964
Pages xviii, 382

Reviewed by C. O. Resurreccion

First, a word about the author. Dr. Louis L. Snyder is Professor of History at the City College of New York where he has been teaching for the past thirty-three years. With a doctorate from the University of Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany, he established himself as a well-known scholar, writer, and editor. At present he is the general editor of Van Nostrand Anvil Books. Journalists and students of journalism remember him as co-editor of the best seller, "A Treasury of Great Reporting."

Now the book.

Nationalism has become a most powerful historical force. Its manifestations could not escape attention. But nobody, it seems, has ever fully grasped the true meaning of nationalism. This could be attributed to the fact that the various disciplines offer their own notion of nationalism. Ever elusive, nationalism continues to defy definitional containment.

Dr. Snyder renders invaluable service to students of nationalism by contributing to the clarification of the role, origin, nature, and influence of nationalism in modern times. The 159 selections in his comprehensive book are systematically grouped under seventeen chapter headings. The first five headings give the meaning, origins, development, types, and problem of national character, respectively. The next eleven chapters treat of the development of nationalism in various countries. The last chapter is "Nationalism: Retrospect and Prospect."

Dr. Snyder's commentary follows each chapter heading. It appears, however, that each commentary serves more as a supplement than an introduction to the selections. The seventeen commentaries are excellent in the majority of cases, and those falling short of the Snyderian touch and scholarship, like the abbreviated commentary on the types of nationalism (P. 47), can stand further improvement. A redeeming or compensating feature is the brief explanatory note preceding each selection, which gives the reader an insight into the substance of the article.

There are other useful study aids. There is, for instance, an appendix of definitions of nationalism. The bibliography of basic books on nationalism is impressive. And there is an "Auxiliary Table of Contents," which rearranges the readings from the viewpoint of conceptual aspects of nationalism, namely: (1) political motives of nationalism, (2) economic motives, (3) social motives, (4) cultural motives, (5) psychological motives, (6) nationalism and patriotism, (7) nationalism and education, (8) nationalism and imperialism, (9) nationalism and racialism, and (10) nationalism and internationalism. This auxiliary table of contents differs from the usual table of contents of the book in that the latter treats nationalism within a choronogical-topical framework.

And now Dr. Snyder's commentaries.

What is the meaning of nationalism? Dr. Snyder offers a "workable" definition: "Nationalism is a condition of mind, feeling, or sentiment of a group of people living in a well-defined geographical area, speaking a common language, possessing a literature in which the aspirations of the nation has been expressed, being attached to common traditions, and, in some cases, having a common religion." (Page 2.) This is a mixture of the elements in the definitions of nationalism by Kohn, Hayes, Shafer, and Deutsch. A possible objection to this manner of framing a definition is that the sources represent schools of thought whose frames of reference or theoretical conceptions of nationalism are at variance. The suggested definition is not even based on the chapter selections from John Stuart Mill, Lord Acton, Ernest Renan, Nikolai Lenin, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Don Luigi Sturzo, Hans Kohn, and Snyder himself.

On the origins of nationalism, the two authors represented have the following to say: "That nationalism cannot exist without nations is self-evident" (Halvdan Koht, p. 30); and "Nationalism is a doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century... Briefly, the doctrine holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government" (Eli Kedourie, p. 32). And Snyder in his introductory commentary states: "Modern nationalism is the sequel to the emergence of the nation-state out of feudalism and manorialism and the medieval concept of sovereignty" (p. 29). He says "modern" as if there was such a thing as primitive nations, hence primitive nationalism, or medieval nations, hence medieval nationalism. Neither primitive tribalism nor medieval feudalism is nationalism, in spite of the fact they were its fountainheads. Nationalism belongs to modern history, that is, to modern times. But to speak of "modern nationalism" would be specious since there is no such historical phenomenon as primitive or medieval nationalism.

The reader should welcome the commentary on the development of nationalism (p. 35). It is a useful supplementary material, expanding the selections from Carlton J. H. Hayes and Arnold J. Toynbee. Snyder divides the developmental stages of nationalism into nationalism as a force for unification (1815-1871), nationalism as a force for disruption (1871-1900), nationalism as a force for aggression (1900-1918), and "the new nationalism" (1918 to date). (Page 35.) What kind of force is the new nationalism? What was it for? This reviewer ventures to suggest that it be called "nationalism as a force for transition from colonialism to emergent nations." This phrase is truly descriptive of the new nationalism in Africa, Asia, and the Near and Middle East mentioned by Snyder (p. 36). Another point: this reviewer cannot reconcile himself with Snyder's oblique reference to this new nationalism as "imitative nationalism," which implies that nationalism is an exportable, hence importable, commodity. It is not so. Nationalism is generated from within and sustained by indigenous elements. The fact that Afro-Asian countries are quite tardy in awakening is no justification for describing their stirring to life as "imitative."

"The classification of nationalism into types depends upon the point of view of the discipline concerned; the historian, political scientist, sociologist, or anthropologist sees nationalism through the prisms of his own discipline." This, from Snyder's commentary on the types of nationalism (p. 47). The author praises the typology of a fellow historian, Carlton J. H. Hayes, which this reviewer finds to be the best-known classification: humanitarian, Jacobin, traditional, liberal, and integral nationalism (pp. 51-52). It may not be the "best-formulated." The formulation of other classifications is indicative of dissatisfaction with Hayes'. Otherwise there would hardly be a need for Lewis Namier's "pathological nationalism" (p. 53) or for Max Sylvius Handman's political classification into oppression-nationalism, irredentism, precaution-nationalism, and prestige-nationalism (p. 49).

Regarding the problem of national character, Snyder summarizes the controversy among three schools of thought. To this he adds his commentary: "Certainly the beliefs which a nation holds concerning its own character and that of other nations are ordinarily a mixture of *some truth* with exaggeration and distortions." And further "Most scholars today reject the notion that national character persists permanently... The character of a people apparently changes in response to varying historical stimuli." (Pages 55-56).

This reviewer is more inclined to apply the phrase "mixture of *some truth* with exaggeration and distortions" to a people's beliefs as to its *own* character; and as to its estimate of other nations' character, he would concede as preferable "a mixture of truth with *some exaggeration and distor-*

tions." This is because the former is more of a subjective nature, while the latter more objective.

As to the notion of impermanence of the national character, it is submitted that it is relative. Change is the immutable law in the universe, and this truism admits no contradiction. However, consider Friedrich Hertz' definition of national character, quoted by Snyder (p. 55), as "the totality of traditions, interests and ideals which are widespread and influential in a nation that they mold its image, both in the mind of the nation concerned and in that of others." Would it not be closer to reality to say that national character is relatively permanent rather than say it is temporary? How long does it take for a people to mold their image and how long to lose it? The national image does not change so easily and whimsically.

The selections from internationally known scholars such as Carlton J. H. Hayes, Harold J. Laski, Edward Haliett Carr, Karl W. Deutsch, John Bowle, Hans Kohn, and Boyd C. Shafer have helped Snyder in formulating four possibilities of the evolution of nationalism in the future. These are: "(1) increasing clashes of nationalism; (2) global federation: One World; (3) a world of uneasy federations; or (4) the extinction of man as an obsolescent animal" (p. 350).

This review concludes with a quotation from Snyder's commentary on the prospect of nationalism: "What of the future of nationalism? The historian hesitates to predict. The dogmatic word is reserved for fools. Answers must be pluralistic, tentative, open to challenge." Before this reader gets involved, the prudent thing for him to do is to stop.

Adventurous Armada: The Story of Legazpi's Expedition

By Andrew Sharp
Whitecomb & Tombs Ltd., Christhurch, New Zealand, 1961
215 pp. Index. Illustrations

Reviewed by Maximo P. Fabella

Of the five expeditions sent to the Philippines by Spain, the most successful was the Legazpi expedition. The first was the ill-fated Magellan expedition in 1519, followed by de Loaisa in 1525, de Saavedra in 1527, Villalobos in 1542 and the last in 1564. This work, *The Adventurous Armada,* by Andrew Sharp is not the first account written about the expedition. There are other records found in Spanish archives, some of which found themselves in Blair and Robertson's monumental *Philippine Islands.* But going through them is hard reading for the non-historian, and to those who are not used to primary documents. Many of the accounts tend to be wordy, and dry, that is probably the reason why few read them. Sharp's work then brings to focus the fifth and most successful expedition (from the point of view of permanent settlement).

The author, a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University, is a journalist by profession. His long time hobby has been the study of the literature of the early Pacific on which he has written several well-known works: *Ancient Voyages in the Pacific,* originally published by the Polynesian Society and reprinted in Pelican edition, and his *The Discovery of the Pacific Islands* published by the Oxford University Press.

The book is divided into twelve well written and detailed chapters. It is interestingly written and has a continuous narrative. His command of the language is superb. Which is neither scholarly nor pedestrian. He has an expert knowledge of ships and shipping and one who reads his work almost sees the author with the expedition, as if narrating as one of the crewmembers.

The opening chapter, the preparation for the voyage brings us to the coastal town of La Navidad, Mexico, where the smaller ships were constructed from local timber and logs. The provisioning of the ship, the recruitment of the crew took some time. The leaders were selected by the Audiencia of Mexico who chose an elderly gentleman of comparatively rich means — Miguel Lopez de Legazpi. He was described as "an able and a good man with a liberal attitude to the native peoples. . ., an ability to lead men by encouragement rather than by an iron fist, generous, and tempering justice with mercy." (p. 14). The choice was a happy one as subsequent events showed. The others selected were Fr. Urdaneta, cousin of Legazpi, who had reached the islands in an earlier expedition; Juan de la Isla, Mateo del Saez, and Alonso de Arellano, were the captains of the other ships. They left Navidad on November 20, 1564.

Like other expeditions to the new world, the fifth expedition attracted a motley crew of Portuguese, Italian, Greek sailors. A hundred leagues from Mexico, on November 25, they read instructions — the objective being the Philippines. Fr. Urdaneta disagreed with the decision of the Audiencia for he believed that the Philippines lay within the Portuguese line of demarcation rather than the Spanish side.

Even before the expedition started, the pilots of *San Lucas,* Lope Martin and Jaymes Fortun of *San Pablo,* were plotting to capture the ships and divert it for their own profitable purposes. *San Lucas* started far ahead, and reached the Marshall islands. On January 30, 1565 the ship found a safe anchorage in Davao Gulf, 8000 miles, and 71 days out of Mexico.

The *San Lucas* anchored and befriended a native chieftain who provided provisions. They skirted Sulu and passed Zamboanga, Cebu and Bohol. They found themselves afflicted with scurvy, when their gums fell, and a plague of rats. The *San Lucas* sailed north and returned home, until they reached California and went down the coast to Mexico.

The flagship *San Pedro* pressed after the *San Lucas* and also reached the Marshalls islands, and Guam. They took possession of the latter and from there went to Samar, on February 13th. Inspite of the fact that the main expedition and the lost *San Lucas* were in the Philippines almost at the same time, they unknowingly played hide-and-seek with each other. When the three ships came in sight of Samar the *San Lucas* was in Davao Gulf. Legazpi contacted the local chieftains for supplies which they bartered. The Adelantado sealed friendship with blood compact with local chiefs. Martin de Goite was sent out and reached Leyte province, where he found the flourishing town of Cabalian, Mazagua (Limazawa) and Camiguin. In the later island, the islanders fled to the hills and refused to trade.

The smaller ship, the *San Juan,* made exploratory trip to Mindanao but had to undergo repair in Bohol. It met a European-type vessel owned by a Portuguese resident from Borneo. The two principal chiefs of Bohol, Zicatuna and Zigala came to the flagship and drank wine and blood. They were told of the richer island of Cebu.

The San Juan rejoined the expedition after a trip to Butuan. There they met merchants from Luzon. The two Bohol chieftains were deputed to go to Zebu and to Rajah Tupas. The Rajah refused to meet the Spaniards. The Spaniards because of the hostile attitude of Tupas had no choice but to bombard Zebu. The townsmen fled the hills, and the Spaniards entered without opposition. Spaniards in the process of ransacking the houses found a pinewood chest, containing a small statue of the Infant Jesus. A triangular palisade was constructed for protection. Tupas still refused.

When the *San Pedro* returned to Mexico, they were surprised to learn that the San Lucas had returned earlier. After making a report to the Audiencia and delivering Legazpi's letter. The small galleon *San Jeronimo,* under Pero Sanchez Pericon sailed on May 1, 1566 with 170 men, reenforcement for the Spaniards in Zebu. The voyage was marred by a mutiny on the high seas which resulted in the death of Captain Pericon. Lope Martin, the leader of the mutineers, sailed and reached the atoll of Ujelang one of the Marshalls. The loyalists recaptured the ship through a ruse and 27 men were marooned in the lonely atoll.

Under a new commander, Bartolome de Lara, the ship went onward to Cebu with 136 men. They passed San Bernardino straits and landed in Samar for provisions. They were accidentally met by Captain Juan de la Isla, who was on reconnaissance, and brought back to Cebu.

Tupas still ignored or evaded the Adelantado's overtures. The Spaniards took proper and careful care of their four women prisoners who were related to Tupas. Simaquio was allowed to see his family and persuaded Tupas to meet Legazpi. A mutiny, this time on land was unsuccessfully planned. The plotters were betrayed and some of them were hanged to serve as an example.

A Portuguese galiot arrived in south Cebu with a letter from Antonio de Sequeira. Captain Saz hurried back to Cebu to report to Legazpi. The Spaniards made war preparations. Goite and Saz exploring Masbate found gold mining and iron tools. *San Juan* under Captain Isla sent back to Mexico. Two strange vessels were coming to the port of Cebu on July 10th, two of them Portuguese caracoas. They delivered another message that four or five galleons were coming.

Captain Rombo da Costa sailed to Cebu, followed later by Pereira. He visited Legazpi and the later had to make a return visit. They were observing each other's strength. The Spaniards were blockaded in Cebu for two months, until starvation forced Pereira to return to Moluccas.

The Spaniards decided to move to Panay, and advance party was sent to Mindoro. From there they reached Manila. The settlement was on a river with a wooden palisade and cannons on the wall. The native artillery was forcibly seized and people fled upriver. Legazpi took Manila on May 1571.

Except for wrong spelling, the book is well written. For his sources he used archival material known as *Coleccion de documentos ineditos al descubrimiento conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar,* Blair and Robertson, and Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas.* His style is reportorial rather than academic. The book is intended as a popular treatise for the professional and lay students of history. Dates are slightly and intelligently used. Useful illustrations are included.

If one wants to read about the Legazpi expedition without tears, Andrew Sharp's THE ADVENTUROUS ARMADA is recommended.

A Short History of Russia

By Richard Charques
London: The English Universities Press. Ltd.,
1959. 252 pp. Maps. Preface. Select Reading List. Index.

The fascination of the Russian way to industrialization is very attractive to the peoples of the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It is a source of wonder to them how a backward country at the turn of the twentieth century was able to industrialize in a matter of a few decades and achieve status in the world's power stage. As Vera Micheles Dean puts it: "For the non-West, communism is a way of life unpalatable to non-communists, but fraught with the promise of providing for a short cut to the creation of a modern economy through industrialization."

If history teaches by example, then certain there are some lessons to be derived from its achievement in the fields of technology and political system. Industrialization was achieved under certain conditions by a certain group of people in a certain way. It has to be accepted that progress in Russia was achieved the hard way rather than the easy way. And history as a discipline (or study) will help enlighten us on how Russia came to be what they are now.

Richard Charques' *A Short History of Russia* gives us "capsulized history" at its best because the book was really prepared for the amateur rather than the professional historian. The book is for the reader who "does not know a great deal about the subject" and "it aims to offer some assistance in the understanding of Russia today." (vii)

The author had three points of emphasis in mind throughout the work: "The first is the formative part played at various periods of Russian history by the autocrat himself; next...to distinguish the successive phases of the 'peasant question'; and third... is this degree of continuity of the Russian present with the past." (viii)

The work gives a panorama of the Russian part from the Eurasian background and the Slavs to the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, in sixteen concise chapters. The emphasis is on the period before 1917 and is rather weak after that date when tremendous strides were made. This is the main weakness of this work from this reviewer's point of view.

Because it is a beginner's book there is too much reliance on secondary authorities rather than primary authorities which are found in the Selected Reading List at the end. The style is both reportorial and interpretative.

Another noticeable feature of the book is the little emphasis on the dates which is a new trend in history writing and teaching. The maps used are quality maps if properly enlarged. The types used are small and a strain on the eye.

"Innovation in Russia, both before and after the revolution, has always been instituted from above, and the absolutism of the tsars gave to each reign a distinctive moral climate in which the opportunities for reform prospered or declined." (vii-viii) Innovation from above explains the lack of initiative among the Russian people.

The problem of the peasant is very well treated since

> ...serfdom is the very fabric of the Russian social history. I have tried to distinguish the successive phases of the 'peasant question'. Until yesterday the peasants were substantially the Russian people and the Russian backwardness was more than all else the backwardness of the peasant masses. It was a commonplace that for a century and a half before the revolution the condition-of-the-peasant problem...was the touchstone of Russian opinion." (viii)

The roots of the present lies deeply in the past, is a truism in history. The continuity of the Russian present with the past is the third point emphasized in the book. Although "the harvest of the revolution was prodigious...yet through all the convulsions of Russian history and the vast process of transformation the threads of continuity with the past remained unbroken." (viii) Continuity survives "not so much [in] institutions as mental habit and tradition" so that the makers of new Russia have "aimed at nothing less than transforming both nature and Russian human nature." (viii-ix)

The author concludes that "what has happened since 1917 has in many respects less to do with Marxist ideology than with the inheritance from the past of material and moral backwardness" which "the communist rulers of Russian attempted to overcome by force." (ix)

On the whole the author has presented a highly readable introductory book. Supplementary readings is suggested to fill the gap from 1917 to the present time. If the success of a book is measured by its readability, then Charques' present work is highly recommended for beginners.

Recto Reader: Excerpts from the Speeches of Claro M. Recto

Edited by Renato Constantino
Manila: Recto Memorial Foundation 1965. xiii, 162 pp.

The publication of a collection of representative ideas from the speeches of the Great Nationalist of our times is opportune. Although the contributions of the late Claro M. Recto to the defense of our national interests have been recognized by a wider circle of our countrymen, by no means is the nationalist struggle completely victorious. The congregation of alien saboteurs, colonial-minded or confused Filipinos, pseudo-nationalists, or simply self-centered traitors in our country still wields a very strong influence in our government and society. The introduction of a Recto reader boosts considerably the current nationalist movement in the Philippines. The basic ideas of the movement have been selected and classified for the convenience of nationalist agents and for those of our countrymen who have not yet sunk too deeply into the mire of colonial mentality.

The *Recto Reader,* however, is not adequate for research purposes. At most, it serves as a guide or a handbook for the serious researcher. Inasmuch as the volume contains mere excerpts, the scholar will have to refer to the Recto Memorial Foundation for the manuscripts which contain the speeches of the nationalist leader in full.

The editor has divided the reader into five headings: (1) Nationalism; (2) Economic Independence; (3) Foreign Affairs; (4) Democracy and Civil Liberties; (5) The Constitution; and (6) Philippine Politics. Under these headings the editor assigned relevant excerpts, taking care, he said, "not to distort," but to let Recto speak to his countrymen today as in life he spoke to them.

Going over the representative ideas in this reader will leave the student of Recto astounded. Why was the Great Nationalist in life persecuted? Why was he labeled "anti-American" or "pro-Communist"?

Mr. Recto's ideas are neither original nor "leftist" and "anti-American. They are simply old ideas dating back to the period of Locke, Rosseau, Montesquieu, and Jefferson applied to the contemporary Philippine scene. They are ideas once proclaimed to the country and to the outside world by Filipinos now honored by a "grateful" country like Rizal, Mabini, Del Pilar, and Quezon. They are ideas Filipino students can see in textbooks and essays by American specialists in diplomacy like Morgenthau, Schumann, and Lippmann. On the other hand, these ideas may appear in Communist tracts; but the literate mind will readily recognize their subservient relation to basic Marxist goals which are internationalist, rather than nationalist. Actually, the late nationalist leader has been labeled by Soviet spokesmen as "petty bourgeois," which, certainly, is not the favored class.

We shall quote a few samples to illustrate the oneness of Rectonian ideas with the ideology of past nationalist leaders or contemporary Western political scientists. Recto's declaration that "excessive reliance on foreign teaching, grounded obviously on a blind and unreasoning faith in things foreign, is at the root of this unfortunate change in the sense of values of of many of our countrymen" could very well have come from a page of "La Indolencia de los Filipinos" by Jose Rizal. The statement certainly describes the imitation Española, Doña Victorina, in *Noli Me Tangere.* Then, "I believe that...sentimentalism and emotionalism should not be allowed to play a part in the consideration of matters affecting international relations...To be a realist is to subscribe to the proposition that in a world where the nation-state system still prevails every state takes care of its own national interests..." are principles one can easily locate in essays by American political scientists like *In Defense of the National Interest* by Hans Morgenthau. On the other hand, Recto's opposition to "dangerous and provocative entanglements" are echoes of the policy of neutrality in the administrations of the early American presidents like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.

This book is recommended to every Filipino. To understand it better, it is suggested that, for comparison, the reader get hold of copies of Majul's studies of Mabini, Rizal's political and historical writings, Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought,* essays of Western political thinkers, and diplomatic studies by Morgenthau, Kirk, Schumann, and Lippmann.

—F. DELOR ANGELES

Philippine Jesuits in Exile

By Nicholas P. Cushner, S.J.

Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1964. xvi, 155 pp., appendices, glossary index.

Father Cushner is a young, enthusiastic American Jesuit who once taught in the minor seminary in Cagayan de Oro City. He is known among Philippine historians for his past articles on the Spanish period of our history, primarily on the work of missionaries and the Spanish galleons. Transferred to Rome, Father Cushner has continued his interest in Philippine history.

The title here under review is the latest contribution of Cushner to Philippine historical writing. It is in the main a translation of the journals of Francisco Puig, S.J. (1768-1770) who was one of the Jesuits expelled from the Philippines by the Spanish government. The translation is accompanied by a historical background of the expulsion of the Jesuits and an impressive bibliography. Of much interest to Philippine historians is the list of archives abroad containing Filipiniana, as follows:

1. Archivo Historico Nacional in Madrid (has the largest collection of material on the expulsion of the Jesuits)
2. Archivuum Provinciae Tarraconensis Societatis Iesu, S. Cugat del Valles in Barcelona
3. Archivuum Provinciae Toletanae Societatis Iesu in Alcala de Henares
4. Archivo General de Simancas
5. Archivuum Romanum Societatis Iesu

The diary of Father Puig in the Spanish original has been included in the volume for comparison. The diary is admirable for its lack of bitterness, which is a bit surprising in view of the hardships the Jesuits went through on account of the expulsion. On the contrary, the writer of the diary did not forget to mention those who were charitable to the company of deportees. The closest he came to being bitter was when he reported the arrival of three Jesuits who tried "to escape the Portuguese persecution and ended up by walking into the Spanish one."

The journals start with a dedication to Father Puig's namesake, St. Francis Xavier, whom he believed was "the first to evangelize the Mindanaos." (Father Cushner took care to cite in his footnotes studies rejecting the theory that Francis Xavier worked among the people of Mindanao. Sources in these footnotes, as well as in the bibliography, are unavailable in the Philippines.) The dedication is followed by the narrative which begins with the house arrest of the Jesuits in the Colegio de Manila. There they were "decently fed and clothed."

On July 20, 1768 the deportees were shipped aboard a galleon for Acapulco. However, on the 8th of September a typhoon drove the boat back to the Philippines. The people on the boat survived only on the "charity and good will of the Spaniards on board." but mostly because of St. Francis Xavier "whose image was nailed" to the mast.

The boat was taken back to Manila Bay for repairs. The Jesuits were again looked in the premises of the Colegio de Manila which, by this time, had begun to deteriorate. The chapel was uncared for and was full of dust, bats, and shubbery growing from cracks. Valuable paintings were despoiled. What made the prisoners moer miserable was the habit of their guards to bring girl friends into the premises, "continually joking day and night."

Finally, the boat was repaired and the Jesuits shipped aboard for the journey to Acapulco. On December 25, 1769 the boat docked at Acapulco, and by January, 1770 the deportees were on their way to Spain. In October, after much delay in the Caribbean, they reached Europe.

Father Cushner has been very helpful to Philippine historians in making the translation of Father Puig's journals. There is a dearth of primary sources in the Philippines. The translation of material in foreign archives can be more valuable than historical writing itself, more so if compared to "research" based upon secondary sources.

—F. DELOR ANGELES

Ten Datus of Madiaas

By J. C. Orendain
Manila: Mabuhay Publishing House, 1963. xxviii, 151 pp.

This work by Dr. J. C. Orendain is the latest attempt to shed light on the coming of Datu Sumakuel's band to Panay. Dr. Orendain is known in the Philippines as a former aide of the late President Quirino and adviser to the government of South Vietnam in drafting the (South) Vietnamese constitution. At present, he is a member of the board of trustees of Central Philippine University.

The work appears to have been the result of assiduous labor, that is, on the basis of material available in the Philippines. This is not to say that it is definitive. Like the work of Father Tomas Santaren (1853) and of Pedro Alcantara Monteclaro (1901), it relied upon tradition. Like his predecessors, the author lacks the background necessary to provide a complete account of the settlement of Panay. Perhaps, in the future the missing links can be brought together by the joint endeavor of an Indologist like Juan Francisco, a student of Borneo like Tom Harrison, and other specialists who can obtain excellent knowledge of the history, languages, and anthropology of the Panay region. In other words, the contribution of Orendain, like those of Santaren and Monteclaro should be regarded as records of oral tradition among the people of Panay, rather than history.

Orendain's account evidently contains more details than those of his precedessors. Also, he has liberally drawn upon his imagination to reconstruct the background to the transactions of Sumakuel's period not provided in oral tradition. This process is one of the most difficult phases of the historical method and always invites censure from colleagues in the field. The author will have a difficult time explaining this statement, for example: "Here the people did not know the art of obstetrics, but they were *good surgeons.*" (Italics supplied).

The author thoughtfully included photographs of "historical" locales, among them the rock where Datu Puti and his group supposedly paid the Atis gold items as purchase price for the lowlands of Panay; the area where Sumakuel is believed to have landed; the hill where Sumakuel planted "the first" bamboos; and the spot where he "perished in quicksand." Inasmuch as the material is oral tradition, the author should have been more careful about assigning these places as actual historical locale. Not even the claim that Monteclaro used "a very old" historical document hidden in a piece of bamboo is sufficient to support the authenticity of material used by him and other students of the Maragtas of Panay. The "very old" document mentioned can be easily regarded as an earlier record by an unknown author of oral tradition similar to what Orendain and others have encountered in Panay communities. It is not understood what Dr. Orendain meant by "the first bamboos" planted by Sumakuel. Were these bamboos the first in Panay, or where they the first planted by Sumakuel on the island? Surely the author did not intend to assign to the illustrious datu the role of having planted the first bamboo in Panay!

The work of Dr. Orendain, like those of Santaren and Monteclaro have their worth. But, as stated before, they stand as records of oral tradition and not as history.

—F. DELOR ANGELES

Apolinario Mabini, Revolutionary

By Cesar Adib Majul

Manila: National Heroes Commission, 1964. x, 219 pp., bibliography.

This biography of Mabini is the latest work on the hero by Dean Majul. It was awarded the first prize in the Mabini biography contest held under the auspices of the National Heroes Commission.

Dean Majul is amply equipped to write this biography, having done previous studies on related subjects, *e.g., Mabini and the Philippine Revolution* and *The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Philippine Revolution.* Moreover, his vast background in philosophy and political science, as well as a keen analytical mind, provided him with tools, as these have helped him in his other studies, without which the biography would not have been readable but impotent like the calendar histories written by the charlatans and old fogies of Philippine historiography.

The superior qualifications of the author is discernible in this book. Primarily a biography, it approaches the appearance of an intellectual history. The opening paragraph of the first chapter gives the reader at the beginning the impression that he had struck an excellent cultural bargain at an incredibly cheap cost: "When persons begin to develop a collective will, and when they attempt to crystallize themselves into a nation by violent means, there are those who stand apart and above the rest in a singular fashion. These are the leaders of the social transformation. . . [They] personify, by their concepts and principles, what is otherwise vague, diffused and unverbalized among the followers — the rationale of a revolution. . . Thus, in retrospect, the pragmatic as well as the ethical evaluation of a revolutionary movement concentrates itself primarily on its protagonists. The philosopher of history, endeavoring to interpret the movement, correlates its different phases and shifts with the characters and varied ideas of the protagonists. Ideology becomes a category to make the process understandable in terms of a definite form and content. And this is how it should be, for the character of a revolution is a function of the men who lead it."

Certain chapters in the book are of particular interest to students of Philippine history. An example is the chapter on "Religion, Church and Politics." Firstly, this segment identifies accurately the religious position of Mabini: "He laid emphasis on secular moral values strongly permeated with nationalistic values. . .Mabini's deistic conceptions can be ultimately traced to the influences of the ideas of the French **philosophes.**" Secondly, it ascribes to him the influence which established the Philippine Independent Church, which another study a number of years ago tended to blame upon the alleged excessive ambitions of Father Gregorio Aglipay.

Another absorbing chapter is entitled, "The Political Thinker." After demonstrating the influence of the liberal tradition of Europe upon Mabini, the author pointed out naivete in the idealogy of the hero, which was a result of earlier studies is scholasticism. "Mabini's principle that Providence has a hand in the historical evolution of peoples, including revolutions, and his uncompromising demands that failure to follow natural law on the part of the protagonists of a revolution would make this fail, are not devoid of some naivete. He should have laid more emphasis on the external factors acting against the Revolution."

The biography begins with an introduction to the role of Mabini in the Philippine Revolution. This is followed by chapters tracing the early life of the hero ("The Formative Years") and the social melieu ("The Colonial Heritage") in which he lived, by way of explaining the shaping of the mind that laid down the ideological base of the revolutionary government in 1898. The literary style thus employed is difficult and requires expert handling of material, a maneuver which shifts from biographical data to political philosophy and back again. Successfully achieved, the process would result in an extremely interesting book, which **Apolinario Mabini, Revolutionary turned out to be.**

—F. DELOR ANGELES

Recent Japanese Philosophical Thought, 1862-1962

By Gino K. Piovesana, S. J.
Tokyo: Enderle Bookstore, 1963.
vi, 265 pp., bibliography, index.

A valuable title that Orientalists or Asian studies institutes can add to their Asian collection is this work by a Jesuit father. The author regards his work as a "survey" of Japanese thinkers, rather than a history of philosophy in Japan, which remains to be done. He explains that after Aso Yoshiteru's pioneering history of philosophy in Japan from 1868-1880 there has been no real work of the same category.

Another characteristic of this survey is the predominant material on Western philosophy in Japan. Father Piovesana tells us that in Japanese universities, recent philosophical thought means Western thinking, Marxist thought being the most popular. ("However, this does not mean that Western philosophy had more socio-cultural influence upon Japanese mentality than their own oriental heritage, which is absorbed through thousands of other ways.")

Western philosophy was introduced into Japan by the first Catholic missionaries, the first Japanese scholars to the West, and the pioneer foreign professors in that land, Greek philosophy, scholasticism, empiricism, positivism, evolutionism, Anglo-German idealism, individualism, pragmatism, Neo-Kantianism. Hegelianism, Marxism, and Existentialism — all found their way to Japan. Father Piovesana brings Filipino readers face to face with these Japanese thinkers who became disciples of Western philosophy: Tsuda Mamichi, Nishi Amane, Kato Hiroyuki, Nishimura Shigeki, Inoue Enryo, Miyake Yujiro, Inoue Tetsujiro, Onishi Hajime, Koeber Sensei, Tanaka Odo, Abe Jiro, Kaneko Umaji, Tomonaga Sanjuro, Nishida Kitaro, Hatano Seiichi, Watsuji Tetsuro, Tanabe Hajime, Kawakami Hajime, Miki Kiyoshi, and others.

The author is a member of the group of Jesuits in the Sophia University engaged in Japanese studies, whose knowledge of the Japanese language, familiarity with Japanese thinking, and close contact with Japanese society enable them to serve as one of the bridges between the Japanese people and the English-speaking world. The survey of Japanese philosophical thinkers made by Father Piovesana seems thorough, as the criteria of a good survey would require. His book has an additional convenience: titles of sources are given in Japanese characters accompanied by Roman script of the Japanese words and the English translation.

There is only one known Filipino specialist on Japan, the historian Josefa Saniel of the University of the Philippines. With the lack of Filipino specialists, not only on Japan but on other Asian countries, this country (orphans of Asia"), will have to rely mostly on groups of foreign Orientalists such as exists at Sophia University.

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